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SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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MSSR SUP SOV CHAIRMAN ON ELECTION EXPERIMENT IN LOCAL SOVIETS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 2 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by A. A. Mokuanu, chairman of the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet: "Expansion of Democracy Is the Command of the Time"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Soviet citizens are working enthusiastically to carry out the program that has been approved by the 27th CPSU Congress for accelerating our country's socioeconomic development. The energy of ideas is being converted into the energy of concrete actions. The broadly extended mass socialist competition in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is brilliant testimony to the large patriotic upsurge that has seized the workers of all nations and nationalities in our country, and to their inseparable solidarity and friendship and the complete triumph of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU. In this jubilee year the Country of Soviets faces the entire world as a harmonious family of completely equal republics, as the embodiment of the highest principles of socialist democracy.

The power belongs to the people and is carried out by the people in its own interests -- therein lies the essence of Soviet socialist democracy. Socialism in fact has given the workers broad political and socioeconomic rights and personal freedoms.

In conformity with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress a course has been taken toward the deepening of the socialist self-government of the people and there has been an intensification of the process of democratization of our life. There has been an expansion of openness, criticism and self-criticism, and the workers' participation in the affairs of society and in administration. The mass information media are operating more energetically, and new social organizations are being created. A very important direction in the development of democracy in production is the introduction of the electoral principle with regard to the managers of enterprises and their production subdivisions.

The daily and increasingly active participation of the masses in administration of the state, in the resolution of social tasks, emerges more and more distinctly as a necessary prerequisite and most important means of implementing the current plans and intentions for the future. At the January

1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it was emphasized that it is only by means of the consistent development of the democratic forms that are inherent in socialism, and by means of the expansion of self-government, that we can move ahead in production, science and technology, literature, culture and art, and in all spheres of social life. It is only this path that guarantees conscious discipline. It is only by means of democracy and thanks to democracy that restructuring itself is possible.

Among the varied institutions and forms of socialist democracy through which the people completely carries out the authority that belongs to it, the primary role is played by the soviets of people's deputies -- the agencies of state authority which constitute, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, the political basis of the USSR. The soviets occupy this responsible and honored place in the system of socialist democracy, in the entire state mechanism, thanks to the peculiarities of their origin and development, in the course of which the qualities that are inherent only in the soviets manifested themselves.

The essence and peculiarities of the formation of the soviets lie primarily in the fact that, from top to bottom, they are elected directly by the people, from among representatives of the people itself, by a method that guarantees its free will. This is achieved primarily by the fact that the state, in its Basic Law, establishes and, by all the means that it has at its disposal, strives for the continuous implementation of the norms stated in Article 95 of the USSR Constitution, according to which the elections of deputies to all the soviets of people's deputies are carried out on the basis of the universal, equal, and direct electoral right with the secret ballot. This provides a real opportunity for the workers to send as their representatives to the agencies of state authority the best individuals who enjoy the people's trust. In the 1985 election, 38,120 deputies were elected to the local soviets of people's deputies in the Moldavian SSR, with 70.7 percent being workers and kolkhoz members. The remaining deputies are specialists in various branches of the national economy, scientific and cultural figures, workers in public health and public education, trade, and public nutrition, the housing and municipal management and the personal-services sphere, party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol workers, and military personnel. More than half the deputies are women, and more than 38 percent are younger than 30 years of age; CPSU members and candidate members constitute 43.2 percent, and nonparty members, 56.8 percent. Representatives of 29 nationalities have been elected to the soviets.

At the present time our republic has broadly extended the preparations for the next election to the local soviets of people's deputies, which, as in all the other union and autonomous republics, have been scheduled on Sunday, 21 June 1987. Simultaneously with the deputies to the local agencies of authority, the people's judges for the rayon (city) people's courts will also be elected, and during the period of preparation and conducting of the electoral campaign -- in April and May -- the people's assessors for those courts will be elected. The election to the local soviets will make it possible to reinforce even more their ties with the masses, and to supplement the local agencies of state authority with new, energetic representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the labor intelligentsia.

In conformity with the principles enunciated at the 26th CPSU Congress and the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, a number of measures aimed at democratizing electoral practice will be carried out during the next election. At the Plenum it was emphasized that, like all the other political, economic, and social institutions, the electoral system cannot remain in a frozen state, cannot stand apart from the restructuring, from the new processes that are developing in society. From the political point of view, we are discussing the deepening of the democratization of the electoral system, the more effective and more realistic participation of the voters in all stages of the pre-election and election campaigns. In the forthcoming election it will be necessary to activate completely the democratic principles contained in the currently effective laws governing elections; to assure that there are no excessive efforts to regulate people's actions; and to eliminate an overly organized or formalistic approach in conducting all the measures in the election campaign.

The election will be held in conform with the Moldavian SSR Law entitled "Elections to the Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Moldavian SSR" and the MSSR Law entitled "Elections of Rayon (City) People's Courts in the Moldavian SSR." The Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet, by its Ukases, has made partial amendments and additions to them, and has also adopted the decree entitled "The Experimental Conducting of Elections to the Local Soviets of People's Deputies in Floreshtskiy Rayon For Multimandate Electoral Districts."

The Ukase of the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet concerning the scheduling of the election was published on Sunday, 29 March 1987. That day was the beginning of the electoral campaign. Subsequently all the measures involved in preparing and conducting the election must be carried out in conformity with the Laws governing elections. Thus, it is necessary to conclude no later than 28 April the formation of all the election commissions. The nomination of candidates for election as deputies to the local soviets begins on 13 April; and candidates for election as people's judges, 23 April. Their registration must be carried out, respectively, starting on 21 and 26 May. The strict observance of the deadlines for conducting the measures is an important guarantee of the legality of the election, and the observance of the rights of the voters, social organizations, and labor collectives.

An important peculiarity of the election to agencies of state authority in our country, and a brilliant testimony to their genuinely democratic nature, is the broad participation of the workers in organizing and conducting the elections. The USSR Constitution and the MSSR Constitution consistently reflect the line of the Communist Party that is aimed at increasing the role of the social organizations, the labor collectives, and the citizens in forming the agencies of state authority. An example of this is provided by the constitutional statutes governing the election commissions. They are truly mass organizations of the workers, through which the voters organize the preparation for the elections, monitor the correctness of conducting them, and determine the results of the elections. The election commissions are given the responsibility of conducting all the measures that determine the correct reflection of the will of the voters in the results of the elections.

The amendments made by the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet to the Law governing elections to the local soviets of people's deputies facilitate the procedure for the formation of district and ward election commissions, and expand the powers of the ward election commissions in the work with the voter lists. Now the right to promote representatives to membership in district and ward election commissions is granted to agencies of the primary social organizations, to collectives at shops, departments, and other subdivisions of enterprises, institutions, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, and to agencies in which the population carries out spontaneous public action -- village, street, block, and building committees, women's councils, and councils of war and labor veterans.

The ward electoral commissions will take part in preparing the voter lists, will consider citizen statements concerning the inaccuracies in those lists and will make the necessary changes in them, and will prepare and sign, on election day, the additional list of voters who for various reasons were not included on the basic list.

Under the restructuring conditions, a very important place is assigned to openness. Therefore during the period of preparing and conducting the election, the electoral commissions must provide broader information to the public about their sessions and the decisions that were made, and about the measures to be conducted.

The nomination of candidates for election as deputies is a very important stage in the electoral campaign, at which one sees very clearly the truly democratic nature of the election to the soviets, and the makeup of the future deputies is basically predetermined. As was noted at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the existing mechanism for the electoral system guarantees the representation of all segments of the population in the elected agencies of authority, which reflect the social-professional and national structure of Soviet society and the variety of interests of society as a whole, and this is a tremendous achievement of socialist democracy.

The procedure that has developed for nominating candidates for election as deputies realistically guarantees the workers the opportunity to participate actively in this responsible matter. In conformity with the existing legislation, the right of nominating candidates for election as deputies is granted to organizations of the CPSU, the trade unions, and the All-Union Komsomol, and to cooperative and other social organizations in the person of their rayon, city and city-rayon agencies. This right must be used.

A substantial factor is the fact that in large-scale labor collectives the right to nominate candidates for election as deputies has been extended to meetings of shops, departments, sectors, divisions, shifts, brigades, and other subdivisions of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, that is, to those cells where people have the best knowledge of the political, on-the-job, and personal qualifications of the future deputies, their organizing capabilities, and their ability to work energetically both at the soviet and in the electoral district.

The Law governing elections to the local soviets stipulates the possibility of nominating candidates for election as deputies at settlement and rural soviets at general meetings and at citizen assemblies at the place of residence. However, in practice, this statute is used extremely infrequently. The direct nomination of deputy candidates by the voters would serve as the even greater democratization of the elections. It is necessary, wherever the conditions permit, to make a practice of involving in the meetings of the labor collectives the activists in the housing area soviets, the village, street, block, and building committees, the women's councils, the councils of war and labor veterans, and other agencies of spontaneous civic activity by the public.

The participants in the nomination and discussion of deputy candidates at the meetings can include all the members of the labor collective and all the inhabitants of the populated places. Every person present has the right to participate in the discussion of the candidatures, and to support the candidatures that are being presented, or to make recommendations to withdraw them.

In the present electoral campaign it is necessary to take a new approach to nominating deputy candidates. At the pre-election meetings it is necessary, as a rule, to consider not just one candidature, but several candidatures for the electoral district. The decision concerning the nomination of the candidate for election as the deputy is made by an open vote after complete collective discussion of all the possible candidatures. It is desirable for the candidates who are being discussed to be present at such time, so that they can make statements if necessary. This will require taking a more attentive attitude toward preparing the meetings to nominate candidates for election as deputies. Those meetings should not be conducted hurriedly, during the lunch break or during the periods between shifts, but, rather, the opportunity should be provided to the voters to discuss the proposed candidatures in a calm and businesslike atmosphere.

When nominating and discussing candidates for election as deputies from among the officials, it is necessary to proceed from the assumption that the rank of deputy is not an appendix to a person's official position, is not an honorary privilege. Rather, it represents a large amount of painstaking work at the soviet and in the electoral district. It is not the person's official position, but primarily his on-the-job, political, and moral qualities that should be taken into consideration.

At the meetings, when nominating deputy candidates, the candidates' proxies are elected. It is important for the proxies to have an excellent knowledge of the deputy candidate from having worked with him on the job or in social activities, and for the proxies to participate actively in agitation work, representing the candidates at meetings with the voters.

All the deputy candidates who have been nominated with the observance of the requirements stated in the Law governing elections must be registered by the district voter commission in the appropriate electoral district. The registration of deputy candidates is of great legal importance. It is only after registration that a person who has been nominated as a candidate can be

viewed as a deputy candidate, that is, he receives the right to cast a ballot for the appropriate electoral district and to enjoy the rights and guarantees granted to deputy candidates. The Law governing elections does not establish any limitations to the right of a USSR citizen to be an elected deputy depending upon his origin, social or property position, race, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, residency in the particular locality, or depending upon the type of activities he engages in or the position that he occupies. At the same time the deputy candidate can cast his ballot to one and the same soviet only in one electoral district.

During the period of the electoral campaign, voter meetings are conducted everywhere in order to allow them to meet the deputy candidates. This time it is necessary to withdraw from the traditional approach to organizing them, when some of them do not provide anything at all to the voters. It is necessary to conduct a search for new, nonstereotypical, beneficial forms and to make a fundamental change in the nature of the dialogue. These meetings must be held at a time that is convenient for the voters. They must become the occasion for a frank exchange of opinions on questions of local life.

At the pre-election meetings the voters will give their mandates to their candidates. The soviets of people's deputies will have to guarantee their careful and complete consideration. At such time there must be no turning away from the mandates that are difficult to execute, but that are realistic. On the other hand, one must attentively evaluate the available opportunities in order not to confuse people by giving them unfulfillable promises. Frequently, under the guise of mandates, requirements are advanced which pursue the goal of obtaining the allocation of additional funds and financial limits. It is necessary for the soviet and economic managers at the meetings to explain openly to the voters the available opportunities and the paths for implementing the proposals made by them. There must also be an increase in the role of the deputy candidates themselves in the preliminary selection of the mandates which are their pledge to the voters.

Election day is the final stage in the electoral campaign, the result of all the political and organizational work that is carried out by the electoral commissions, the social organizations, the labor collectives, and the citizens. The procedure for organizing the voting on election day which has been stipulated by legislation is completely aimed at creating for every voter all the necessary conditions for participating in the election.

The peculiarities of holding the forthcoming election lie in the fact that there has been a change in the form of the ballot, in which, in addition to the usual data, there will be an indication of the place of work, position, or occupation of the deputy candidate. In the area where the voting will be carried out, it is necessary to set up the ballot boxes in such a way that the voters can get to them only by walking through booths where they vote secretly. A person will not be allowed to vote for family members or if he lacks a proper identification document. Factors that are of great importance are the strict observance of the voting procedure; the precise operation of the ward electoral commissions; and the guaranteeing of a businesslike, calm atmosphere at the electoral wards.

For the first time in electoral practice, by way of an experiment, the election to the local soviets of people's deputies of Floreshtskiy Rayon, 19th convocation, will be conducted for multimandate electoral districts. The essence of the experiment lies in the fact that these districts are formed by the executive committees of the corresponding soviets of people's deputies by uniting several contiguous existing electoral districts. Within the confines of the total number of deputies to be elected to the soviet, the number of deputies to be elected is established for each multimandate district, with a consideration of the size of the population in the particular district. It is important to note that the number of nominated candidates for election as deputies must be, as a rule, greater than the number of votes for the electoral district.

When deputy candidates are nominated by various agencies of social organizations, by labor collectives, general meetings, citizen meetings at their place of residence, and meetings of military personnel at their military units, a district pre-election meeting is conducted, at which there is a discussion of the candidatures that have been nominated for the district, a decision is made concerning their support or, if necessary, concerning coordination with the organizations that made the nominations, and changes are made in the list of nominated candidates for the district. Then the district pre-election meeting approves the list and submits it to the district electoral commission in order to register the deputy candidates.

The voting is carried out for all deputy candidates who have been registered and included in the ballot in alphabetical order. When filling out the ballot, the voters must cross out the names of those candidates whom they are voting against, and must leave the names of the others.

The deputy candidates who are considered to be elected in the multimandate electoral district are those who have received at the election more than half the votes of the district voters included in the lists.

If, as a result of the vote, the number of elected deputies is greater than the number of mandates for the electoral district, the deputies who have received a lesser number of votes are considered to be elected reserve deputies to the corresponding soviet of people's deputies. If a deputy leaves the soviet of people's deputies, his mandate is transferred to the reserve deputy who received the largest number of votes as compared with the other reserve deputies in the particular district. The powers granted to that reserve deputy as a deputy to the soviet are recognized by the corresponding soviet on the basis of a recommendation by the soviet's Credentials Commission.

The reserve deputies participate in the work of the soviet of people's deputies and its agencies, with the right of a consultative vote, and enjoy the right of deputy inviolability and guarantees regarding the protection of labor rights that are stipulated for deputies to the soviets of people's deputies. The conducting of the experiment will be extended to the entire period of activity of the soviets.

The experiment will make it possible for the voters to express their attitude toward a broader circle of deputy candidates, and for the soviet agencies to get a better idea of the mood and will of the voters. In addition, in the multimandate electoral districts, as a rule, it will no longer be necessary to hold elections to replace departing deputies, since the reserve deputies will receive their mandates. The work of the deputies in those districts must also be constructed in a new way. They will bear both personal and collective responsibility to the district voters, and every voter has the right to get in touch with any of them.

At the forthcoming election of people's judges for the rayon (city) people's courts, it will be necessary to guarantee the stricter selection of specialists in order to assure that the persons working in the courts possess the necessary political, practical, and moral qualities. It will be necessary to strive for a situation in which there are as many meetings as possible between the candidate people's judges and the voters, and to make it a broader practice to have them give statements or lectures or conduct discussions at the labor collectives and at people's place of residence, and at voter clubs and agitation centers. It is necessary to take into consideration all the comments and recommendations aimed at intensifying the work of preventing violations of the law and at improving the legal education of the public.

During the elections of people's assessors, with adhering to the principle of renovation, it is necessary at the same time to recommend again for election those assessors who have previously performed their duties ably and who have had legal training.

The preparation and conducting of the elections to the local soviets of people's deputies, people's judges, and people's assessors of rayon (city) people's courts will be a notable event in the life of our republic and they must promote the further raising of the level of the organizing and political work of all links at the soviets, the improvement of the work of the people's courts, the further development of socialist democracy, and the reinforcement of legality.

The election campaign will be a review of the activities of the soviets of people's deputies, to the work of which the Communist Party attaches exceptionally great importance. In the decisions of the party congresses and in many documents of the CPSU Central Committee, one can clearly trace the course aimed at increasing the role of the soviets, and at intensifying their influence upon fulfilling the tasks of communist building. During recent years the party has carried out a large amount of work to expand the powers of the soviets, to reinforce their material-technical base, and to reinforce the soviet apparatus with well-trained cadres.

A document which is of great importance in increasing the participation rate of the local agencies of authority and in intensifying their independence is the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers which was adopted last year, and which is entitled "Measures for Further Increasing the Role and Intensifying the Responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies for Accelerating

Socioeconomic Development in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress." With the adoption of that decree, the activities of the soviets have been supplemented by new, more profound content, their rights have been broadened, and their jurisdiction has been extended to include the resolution of diverse questions that are presented by life. The election campaign will be held under the sign of the broad checking of the activities of the soviet agencies in fulfilling that decree and the decisions governing the reinforcement of socialist legality and law and order.

At the pre-election meetings, and when the deputies and people's judges are giving their reports to the public at the electoral districts, there must be a frank analysis of the state of affairs in the economic, social, municipal, and legal spheres. Special attention must be devoted to fulfilling the voters' mandates that were expressed at the previous election.

It is important to make the best possible use of the electoral campaign, in order to locate and eliminate any shortcomings in the work of the soviet and economic agencies, trade and public-nutrition enterprises, personal-services and municipal management, medical and social-cultural institutions, and others that are linked with the providing of services to the public. The soviet agencies must establish smoothly operating, constant accounting, generalization, and analysis of the recommendations and comments, and must make complete use of them for restructuring their work and improving the satisfying of the public's needs.

The forthcoming election will be a new, brilliant testimony to the inviolable ideological-political unity of our nation, and its close solidarity around the Communist Party. It will promote the more complete implementation of the democratic principles of the electoral system and the development of the labor initiative and social participation of Soviet citizens in the fight for the successful fulfillment of the plans for the second year of the five-year plan and for the worthy meeting of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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KOMSOMOL DEMOCRATIZATION, ELECTION PROCESS DEBATED

Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHAN in Russian 9 Apr 87 p 2

[Discussion between I. Mamedzade, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate at the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy, and B. Aliyev, instructor in the Department of Psychology and Pedagogy at Azerbaijan State University imeni S. M. Kirov: "We Learn Democracy"; first paragraph is unattributed source introduction]

[Text] Do not look for ready formulas in these lines: elections are a new undertaking, and we still have to learn the culture of democracy. The discussion between two young scholars--I. Mamedzade, candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate at the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy, and B. Aliyev, instructor in the Department of Psychology and Pedagogy at Azerbaijan State University imeni S. M. Kirov--whom we invited to familiarize themselves with the three model election meetings sketched here, sometimes turned into a debate. But where is the truth to be born, if not in debate?

[Aliyev] We are confronted with three models: in the case of the higher school there were, to all intents and purposes, no elections but merely an imitation of them, a homage to "social fashion." In the institute we are dealing with a yet unformed collective. The young scholars essentially represent an inert mass that has not yet defined either its goals or its leader. The third model--elections at the Bakinskiy Rabochiy Plant--is closer to the optimal. However, a good many questions arise here, too. Granted, the young people have a leader. And that leader won in the elections. But even he, not to even mention the other candidates, lacks a clear program of action. Here a question arises--I won't hide the fact that I am deliberately formulating it and the others somewhat "provocationally," but sometimes they are as follows: haven't we been a bit hasty with elections? Are we ready for them yet?

[Mamedzade] Elections are essential. It is impossible to learn democracy without taking part in them. A process of learning democracy is taking place. And mistakes? What can you say? They are inevitable at the initial stage. We mustn't be afraid of them.

[Aliyev] However, one must also take the following point into account: for a long time, when a leader was, to put it mildly, recommended from "above," in young people's minds the reasons for failures were connected precisely with that circumstance. But what about now, if a leader whom they have chosen and in whom they believed fails to cope? Won't some of the young people throw up their hands, and won't people start believing that if that person couldn't do it, no one can?

[Mamedzade] I think that one shouldn't exaggerate that danger. Of course, some leaders will be discredited and will not pass the test of practice. But at the same time a process will be taking place whereby the collective is developing and new, real leaders are crystallizing.

[Aliyev] But can every collective correctly determine its leader? What sort of requirements should be placed on him? If personal relations are placed in the forefront, elections may turn into a fight among groups. If business relations are--a candidate should have, in addition to the ability to manage and organize, a clear-cut program of action.

[Mamedzade] Those are also difficulties of the initial stage. Young people do not yet have clear-cut criteria according to which they are supposed to judge their future leader. That is, such criteria exist in theory and have been developed by science. It's just that so far they have not yet put to use, and people do not yet know how to apply them in practice. Therefore, it is precisely now that a collective especially needs our help--the help of social scientists, sociologists and psychologists.

[Aliyev] I agree, but before writing a prescription, let's first try to make a diagnosis. We are by no means always dealing with an established collective. In a collective, incidentally, there is always a leader. But what if it is, so far, just a group of people who go to work or to a student lecture hall? Such a group does not have a leader. Sometimes there is a leader, but not always. So our help should consist, first of all, in helping the collective define itself and find its identity. In preparing a collective.

[Mamedzade] A real collective can only be formed in the process of independent actions. Just like a real, militant Komsomol organization. In recent decades formalism in the Komsomol has resulted in a paradoxical situation: on the one hand, there were real, living young people, Komsomol members. And on the other, there was something abstract and not entirely comprehensible--the Komsomol. And as a reflection of this, there were two leaders in an organization. One of them was the real leader, who commanded minds and hearts. The other was, so to speak, for public work. The first was for the Komsomol members, the second was for the Komsomol. There you have one of the main causes of the "disease"--formalism. Elections are a powerful means of overcoming it.

[Aliyev] Yes, if not just formalism. but people change. Otherwise that will again lead to formalism, to playing at democracy, as happened in the case of the higher school.

[Mamedzade] Do you remember that Marx wrote that it is necessary to change not people but material relations, and then people will change? A process of improving the health of society in all of its spheres is presently taking place. A vivid example of that is the expansion of the rights of the primary Komsomol organization in the draft Statutes of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League. One would like to see the new election procedures reflected in it as well.

But let's return to the situations with which we were presented. I believe that in the case of the higher school and the branch institute a sociologist and a psychologist should have been introduced into the collective about a month before the elections. After studying the situation they could have determined with the maximum possible accuracy just what sort of leader was needed in each case and provided substantiation as to why he should possess precisely such qualities. They could have determined whether there was such a person in the collective. He might not necessarily be someone who had defined himself as a leader but simply a person worthy of becoming leader. And they could have given people their recommendations. Precisely recommendations, leaving the right of decision to the people themselves. Incidentally, if there is no suitable person in the collective, it is specialists who should, in the same fashion, "program" a candidate from outside.

[Aliyev] I believe that the arrival of a "Varangian" is the most extreme measure. The problem is that any "Varangian" will immediately arouse a reaction of rejection, whether it be in a collective or a group. Therefore, if it is necessary to recommend one, it should be someone who is already familiar--best of all, someone from the raykom's reserve. Say, the person who has overseen that organization. In any case, he must be introduced in advance and given the opportunity to present his program, using the meeting rostrum and young people's evening gatherings, the in-house newspaper and the wall press and radio newspaper. It's necessary that the Komsomol members form an idea of his business qualities before the election. The example of the plant makes it clear what ignoring those requirements will lead to. Even if there was no obvious leader in the collective, it would have been better not to have elected Fuad Nasirzade. And not because he's bad; he was simply still and outsider.

[Mamedzade] There's another typical mistake to which attention must be called. In the process of preparing for elections, neither the raykoms nor the Komsomol committees are fully adhering to democratic principles yet. Candidates are nominated without the participation of all the young people: that happened in the higher school, the branch institute and at the plant. Evidently, the decision to "put forth" is usually taken by the Komsomol committee, the administration and the raykom. And this, once again, does not provide the opportunity to define a genuine leader. Incidentally, this confirms how poorly we so far know the processes taking place among young people. It is no accident that at the plant it was not those who had been recommended by the raykom, the committee and the enterprise management who were elected but a person whom the collective itself had named. What happened? Was he overlooked "from above"?

[Aliyev] That once again demonstrates that our Komsomol committees have by no means always been led by real leaders, and are not yet. And it's been very rare that these Komsomol committees have exercised their real rights and been capable of making independent decisions. Elections, of course, are not a panacea for all the Komsomol's ills. But they should help the committee become a real force instead of just a figurehead.

[Mamedzade] Today it is necessary to find leaders and teach them to work. Both the leaders and the collective. In this difficult undertaking of teaching young people democracy, it is very important to have the participation of everyone: the Komsomol, the press, the public and science. In choosing its leader, a collective also chooses itself. Itself--and its future.

FROM THE EDITORS: Who should be elected? How should elections be conducted? The process of the democratization of society confronts us with these questions. And they must also be answered by us--all of us. We think our readers will also share their thoughts about what a leader should be like and how elections should be organized so that a Komsomol organization is headed by a real leader.

8756

CSO: 1830/481

LOCAL KOMSOMOL IGNORES DEMOCRACY WHEN FILLING ONEROUS POSTS

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 87 p 2

[Article by Ye. Yakovleva: "A Fiery Event"]

[Text] Igor Kuminov was expelled from the Komsomol.

None of the persons who voted for the expulsion wished to inflict "Draconian" punishment. To prove this, a girl even admitted in a soft voice that she fell in love with Igor when she first laid eyes on him. However, her voice was firm and loud when she stated that if she had to pass judgment on him 100 times, she would vote "yes" to exclude him the 100 times. That is what she thought about his behavior.

At a Komsomol election meeting, he -- an officer -- flatly refused to accept a Komsomol assignment in front of the rank and file members. "I cannot. I will not. I live in another city, and it would be a long distance to get to work. We do not have a place of our own, and our baby is due soon. We have no place to move to with the child." He said all this in such an arrogant manner that the presidium decided to add to the first question on the agenda -- reporting -- and to the second -- election -- a third aspect: Comrade Kuminov's behavior.

Igor -- he really did it this time! -- was summoned to the Komsomol gorkom office. It was Slava Sukhin who tried to pound some sense into him by wisely saying: "Sit down! Let them select you! Just tell them that you do not care to go to the Komsomolskiy Prozhektor headquarters, and be quiet about it!" But asking Kuminov to be quiet in such a situation is the same as asking fire not to burn. That is the kind of personality he has.

In the Komsomol gorkom office he was also arrogant. He used the familiar form of address with the office members and demanded that they first help him resolve his housing problem and only then "stick" him with the mission, saying all this in an overbearing tone. The Komsomol profile prepared for the office stated that he is hot-tempered, lacking in self-control, and rude; he avoids contact with his comrades, does not participate actively in collective activities; and he is a poor worker, in that the guard he commands takes last place in everything.

The vote to exclude him was unanimous.

He sat up all night to four in the morning writing a letter: "Dear Editors! I still cannot collect my senses. How can that be: On the one hand I was selected to go to the Komsomolskiy Prozhektor headquarters of the garrison, meaning that I was worthy of such an assignment, while on the other hand I was expelled outright from the ranks of the VLKSM [All-Union Lenin Young Communist League]? Why was my fate decided by people I do not know? Why was it not entrusted to someone who knows me -- comrades I work with? Was that done in accordance with the regulations?"

He was assigned to Prokopyevsk upon graduating from the firefighting school. On his shoulders were lieutenant's stars, and his head was full of ambitious plans. He saw about him a city which promised to become his home town. On top of that, in Novokuznetsk, not far from Prokopyevsk, lived Igor's classmate Vera. She was, well, more than a classmate.

The start of his new job was anything but wonderful. Igor was designated guard chief. Either the guard did not hit it off with the chief, or the chief with the guard. Kuminov does not touch alcohol; he did not drink at all at his own wedding. When he would find a guard member in a state of intoxication or suffering with a hangover, he would immediately relieve the violator of duty, as required by the regulations. This happened once, twice, three times... The situation in the guard was becoming tense. Igor's superior officers summoned him to issue him a strict warning: "This is not the school. There you can say 'Do what I say, one-two!' Here you must be more careful in dealing with people; all of them come to us from the street, and they are not used to military discipline. Do not turn the screw, understand?"

He did not understand.

He did not confine himself to chasing out "his" alcoholics; he would also look for "intoxication" in other watches, report this to the commander and demand that he take action. This is what happened with Vasiliy Brylev, who reported for duty drunk. Kuminov punished him once, twice, three times... Finally, the political officer summoned Vasiliy to tell him: "I see that you do not get along with Kuminov; maybe you should transfer to another guard?" Brylev took the transfer. To Demidovich's guard. Demidovich, upon finding a bottle in Brylev's night table, was philosophical about the incident: "Well, boys, I guess this is 'for after work'?" "Yes, for after work." And when he would find a member drunk: "How about hiding somewhere where no one can see you." The member would hide and everything would be all right again. Kuminov, however, did not believe in this approach. He would mete out punishment relentlessly in accordance with the regulations. "Stop doing that," Demidovich would tell him. "Let the small things go and the men will support you in big things." Kuminov could not let them go. He took on more and more of this activity. He wanted an arrangement whereby unreformable alcoholics would be fired. He fought for reformed drinkers. He struggled against ugly and malicious stubbornness and for order as prescribed by the regulations. The regulations were written over the centuries. Proceeding in accordance with the regulations means doing the right thing. There is a requirement to provide combat political training -- Where is it? It exists on paper. The guard chief would conscientiously sign the log attesting to training that was not given.

Training for which there is a great need. People really do come in off the street for this work; knowing nothing about firefighting, they must be taught and drilled.

"Look here, what is wrong with you?", he would be asked. "You must be realistic. There are many exceptions to the rules. You are kicking out drunkards and this is bad for our superior officers, who are suffering with a growing number of violations and receiving punishment 'from above'."

Kuminov did not take kindly to such advice and would rush out to argue and shout about the latest shortcoming. He was like a burning fuse.

But there was no explosion.

Before me sat a man who said quietly and with conviction: "Kuminov was expelled from the Komsomol. Hard as it may be for you to understand, they will not change his way of thinking. Even if they did, nothing else would change. There still would be no training sessions and 'boozers' would be treated with kid gloves. Yes, it is hard to work with Igor. But we are talking about real work. Do not make the mistake of thinking that he and I are on close terms. I am the one he roused out of bed late at night and ordered to 'do my duty'. I refused and he kicked me off the watch."

The above was said by Sergey Zadorin, a driver and squad leader. Each member of his guard has the same to say.

"Kuminov is the most knowledgeable firefighter. I was a complete novice when I first reported for duty. He took many pains with me: discussing, explaining! He does that with everyone. He treats each person individually. If he argues and swears, he always does so in connection with work. Rude? Better ask the superior officers about that. Maybe with them. With us -- his subordinates -- he is not like that. (Komsomol member Nikolay Yefremov, one of Kuminov's firefighters, the same one Kuminov ordered off duty for drunkenness).

"An exceedingly demanding person. Very knowledgeable. Very courageous while fighting a fire. It seems to me that the reconstruction needs people like that. But expelling him from the Komsomol?!" (Driver Sergey Maksimkin).

"He cannot let any violation go unnoticed. Our guard has the most shortcomings because Kuminov does not hide them." (Aleksandr Malinin, squad leader, party organizer).

"He is very easy to work with. He is very humane. I had a problem with leave and he took action to help me: 'I will talk to my superiors.' My mouth opened widely with amazement. I had never had a guard chief who was willing to fight for me. Even though he and I had arguments. But is that so important? It seems to me that the Komsomol needs such people badly." (Larisa Rusanova, first guard dispatcher, Komsomol member).

"You know, I would fight any fire with him. It is the same as going on an excursion." (Vasiliy Brylev, the same one -- remember? -- who transferred to Demidovich's guard after the misunderstanding with Kuminov).

So who is right? Demidovich or Kuminov? Igor did not let anyone get away with "small things", but people supported him in big things. When the gorkom office expelled him from the Komsomol, his entire guard and all Komsomol members of the unit were against it. It is true that no one asked them about it.

But, then, whom did they ask?

The following statements are taken from the profile signed by the unit superior officers. "Does not participate actively in collective activities." Is this the Kuminov who does something about every shortcoming?! "A poor worker." Is this the Igor who has no equal in the unit in knowledge and skills? "The guard he commands takes last place in everything." Of course! What else? If Kuminov did not go after the drunkards, he would be one of the boys. And there would be no personnel retention problem. If he keeps on "displaying" his own faults, what are we to do -- praise him? Of course not. Kuminov was summoned to appear in the officers' court of honor. The court president is Igor Demidovich, who is known by all unit firefighters to "hide" an alcoholic or a member shaking with a hangover from superiors. He is judging Igor Kuminov, who does not hesitate to remove a drunken firefighter from duty. He is being judged for "connivance with alcoholism and dereliction of duty".

"I was passing by," explained to me political officer V. Goryachev, "and noticed that a display was lying on the floor. I ordered him to hang it up, but he refused to do it, saying that 'the display is old, the information no longer true.' Being the commander, I said 'That is not your concern. You were given an order to hang it up, so do it.' He did not hang it up."

"Let me tell you about an experience I had with him," added unit commander G. Shohogolevatykh. "I told him: 'Igor, write this on the list of test instruments: 9 pieces.' A whole week went by and he did not do it! Six letters and one figure. He forgot."

What a terrible thing -- six letters and one figure! This is unpardonable! But if a firefighter is completely useless while on duty, that is perfectly all right.

I visited the Komsomol gorkom after having talked at length with firefighters.

"No matter what happens there, we will not change our opinion. You do realize that if our officers are going to refuse to accept Komsomol tasks, we all should pick up our labor books and leave the Komsomol." (Vladimir Boyko, Komsomol general committee first secretary).

"Imagine someone behaving as he did in the office and getting away with it! He has nothing but disdain for the Komsomol." (Marina Nekrasova, Komsomol general committee organization chief).

"He is interested in personal gain: 'Why should I do something if I am not given an apartment? First give me an apartment and a car, then I will perform social activity'." (Vladimir Shevelev, second secretary, Zenkovskiy Komsomol raykom).

Indeed, Igor Kuminov's personality does not generate sweetness and light. I cannot forget how, in the heat of an argument he and I were having over the Komsomol, he jumped up and shouted at me: "If that is the way you feel, I have nothing more to say to you," and slammed the door. I remained sitting in the communal kitchen with a pain in my heart and my pride hurt: "How dare he do that!" Five minutes later, after his wife Vera convinced him to return, we continued our conversation. But the door kept "slamming" in my memory.

But there are facts and there are facts.

Yes, Igor refused a Komsomol assignment. But did anyone ask why? He did have some Komsomol experience. Bad experience. He was designated to be the Komsomol organizer when he first reported for duty in the unit. Designated, no less. (A Komsomol meeting had not been convened, due to the difficulty of assembling people on duty with different watches). At first Igor was enthusiastic. He decided to organize a group to perform at the "All Right, Boys" competition. Guitars were purchased and the performance was given, but fire-fighting practice was carried out one time only. That was the last time he tried. He grew tired of beating his head against the brick wall of general apathy. His usual insistence did not come into play here; he could not issue orders and insist on compliance. A talent for organizing Komsomol activities was something he lacked, as he confided in me. When I told the gorkom about this, they merely smiled wryly.

And so he discontinued all efforts at Komsomol work, with the exception of collecting membership dues. When the time came, he was re-elected. The same way they re-elected before that Igor Demidovich, who also did not enrich the group's Komsomol life with anything other than recording schedules of events which never took place and collecting membership dues. After Kuminov they elected Nail Khasanov, who incidentally was vociferous in his refusal. He is now collecting membership dues and trying to organize sports activities. Igor's domestic affairs were in poor shape at the time the election meeting was called. Wife Vera was in her ninth month of pregnancy, and they had nowhere to live.

Everyone knew about that. He was promised a room in a dormitory. But it is one thing to make a promise and another to follow through. Neither the unit Komsomol organization nor the VLKSM gorkom did anything in this case, even though much was said about the Komsomol rendering aid to the young family. This was also discussed at the 20th VLKSM Congress.

Management was disturbed: "What egotism! We were concerned about him." Maybe too concerned. When Vera had already delivered Artem. And at the meeting when Igor was requested to name a candidate for the Komsomolskiy Prozhektor headquarters. The Komsomol organizer was not available; his guard was not on duty that day. Since the Komsomol organizer was on leave, the order went out

to whoever was on duty to attend the meeting. Igor, being an officer, was requested to attend. Igor could not nominate any candidate. Therefore, the presidium simply decided to select Igor.

He could have accepted the decision and remain silent. But Igor knew that he could not work in headquarters. I also know that he could not -- not with the way he lives. He paints the room, washes the clothes, cooks the meals, does the shopping, etc. This leaves Vera free to take care of Artem. This year he will be busy every minute with his wife and son -- in addition to his work.

And that is how he was expelled from the Komsomol. At the gorkom the thought occurred to me: Has the Komsomol expelled many people who did not refuse an assignment but never completed one?

There were not many. Not a single person.

Last year -- in 1986 -- the Komsomol gorkom office reviewed four personnel cases. They involved the case of girls -- Komsomol activists -- who became intoxicated while in a Komsomol aktiv camp. The poor girls were so sorry and repentant that they nearly cried. They received a reprimand. Next to be considered was the case of a Komsomol member who had presented falsified medical certificates to avoid working on construction of an MZhK [Youth Residential Complex]. He also repented. He received a reprimand and was turned over to the collective for instruction. Then came the Kuminov affair. He did not repent.

The last time I spoke with Igor Kuminov, I asked: "What are you working on now?" He answered: "I am trying to whip my guard into shape to beat Demidovich's men in the socialist competition. Now that we have gotten rid of the drunks we have good boys; we will get the better of everyone."

The last time I spoke with Igor's superiors I asked the question: "What are you requiring of Kuminov?"

"We want him to stop paying attention to other people's shortcomings and think more about his own."

I spoke one more time with Vladimir Boyko, who is the first secretary of the Prokopyevsk Komsomol general committee. We talked about how difficult things had been for Igor Kuminov. Drunken friends starting with the eighth grade. Stealing, fights. Then he came to his senses. By himself. But not because of fear of the consequences. He was afraid that his life "was going to be wasted". He enrolled in the school with a purpose. There he found discipline. It was very difficult for him to stop swearing; not long before that, this was the norm for him. And then the way he stopped drinking...

"It seems to me that this person is growing. Growing with great difficulty."

"So what," said Boyko. "Let him grow. What does that have to do with us?"

13005

CSO: 1800/605

ROLE OF ESTONIAN CONTROL COMMISSIONS DISCUSSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 87 p 2

[Report, under the "People's Control Page No 6 (534)" rubric, on interview with Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, by staff correspondents G. Gukasov and A. Frolov: "The Quality of Inspection: A Conversation with the Chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet"; date and place not given; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] During discussion of the activity of the USSR People's Control Committee at a session of the country's Supreme Soviet it was noted that soviets are obliged to implement concrete measures to strengthen the leadership of people's control authorities in the light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress to fundamentally improve control over the execution of decisions, plans and laws which have been adopted, and to step up the activities of all control authorities. Our correspondents G. Gukasov and A. Frolov asked Arnold Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to describe what is being done in his republic to increase effectiveness of control.

[Answer] Please permit me a small digression. At one time I worked on a sovkhos, and then at the Estonian Agricultural Academy. And like many administrators, I lamented the enormous losses of work time caused by the multiplicity of inspections by soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, and by ministries and departments. No sooner does one inspector enter your office than the next one is knocking at your door. After making a thorough analysis of the state of affairs, I instituted a clear-cut procedure at the Academy for an internal, comprehensive cross-check on an entire range of questions.

Usually at the end of the year a group of competent specialists would be formed in every academic department: in the course of one or two weeks, the group would conduct a comprehensive check of the state of affairs among its neighbors; the results of the inspection would then be discussed in the appropriate subdivisions; and concrete measures would be taken immediately on all shortcomings and areas of neglect discovered. Over the course of the entire year to come, we had a clear-cut and comprehensive response prepared for any inspector, no matter where he came from. And you can imagine how pleased the inspectors themselves were with the information we'd prepared.

I understand that this is not a method for regulating inspections; it is a kind of local initiative. Nevertheless, the academy was always prepared for the arrival of an inspector.

And now to directly respond to your question.

Increasing the economic independence of enterprises and kolkhozes, and the new economic conditions to which the republic has switched--all of this has forced us to reexamine and basically reorganize the entire area of control. First of all control itself must be encompassed by strict procedures which preclude any deviation from the norms and rules. Secondly, control must affirm a system of conducting business in which every person considers himself responsible for everything and everyone in his own sector of work.

[Question] We know that of late permanent commissions of republic soviets, operating jointly with people's control authorities, are increasingly making use of comprehensive inspections in their practical activities. What brought this about, and what have they provided that is new?

[Answer] As early as 1984 a session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet called for focusing the attention of both the soviets and the people's control authorities at all levels on key directions in the development of branches of the national economy, and to impart a comprehensive nature to control. A council for coordinating inspections was organized in the republic, and all inspections by local soviets and people's control authorities began to be conducted jointly on the basis of coordinated future and current plans.

Not long ago one of the permanent commissions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, together with the republic people's control committee inspected the activities of the housing operation organization and the repair and construction administrations in the republic's cities and rayons. The results of the inspection were examined at a session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. They have now completed an inspection of the organization of production of consumer goods and the state of the services sphere in the city of Pyarnu.

One could cite quite a few such examples of coordinated interaction of the permanent commissions of the soviets and people's control authorities. And what is very important is that they are taking up the acute problems which are of genuine concern to the workers and, as a rule, are putting an end to them.

Their chief goal is to help people recognize their own shortcomings and find the means to overcome them. The comprehensive inspection method has opened a new level, as the miners say, where concrete proposals and recommendations are worked out--quite often for a project which has not yet been inspected, or for an authority which has the capability to fully implement them in its operations. It is precisely due to such comprehensive and thorough inspections that the government of the republic has in the past two years adopted the decrees, "On Measures for Developing the Flax Crop," and "On Additional Measures for Ensuring Outstripping Growth of Labor Productivity in Comparison with the Growth of Wages in the Republic's National Economy," and a number of others.

When, however, it is a question of enterprises of union-level subordination, then the results of the comprehensive inspections are placed on the desks of the administrators of the corresponding ministries and departments, with specific suggestions for correcting the shortcomings noted. And as a rule, we have a completely clear-cut answer to the matter. Quite recently, for example, serious shortcomings were revealed in the production and economic activity of the Estremrybflot [possibly Estonian SSR River and Maritime Fishing Fleet] Association. They became the subject of detailed examination by the board of the USSR Ministry of the Fishing Industry. The union-level ministry and the republic council of ministers jointly worked out an appropriate plan of action, and now the association's operations are getting back on the right track.

At one time the question of increasing the quality of oil shale fuel extracted from the mines and pits of the Estonslanets [Estonian Oil Shale] Association was studied. As a result of the measures taken by the union-level ministry, the oil shale refining industry was able to significantly raise the quality of its product, and the annual economic effect is about 2,000,000 rubles.

A rather difficult situation came about at a number of enterprises of the republic Ministry of Light Industry as well: the warehouses were chock-full of woolen fabrics, the demand for which had fallen sharply. A comprehensive inspection permitted the ministry to radically change the assortment and raise the quality of woolen and blended wool fabrics, and the new production was completely sold out at an inter-republic wholesale trade fair.

[Question] In and of itself any inspection costs quite a bit of money. Does someone in the republic keep track of these expenditures and the yield from them? Is this not the very economic effect which has now become so important in developing the country's economic life?

[Answer] According to data from a selective investigation conducted in the republic by the council on coordinating inspections, every enterprise is subject to inspection about 40-50 times a year, with an overall duration of 150-160 days. At the same time almost half of these inspections are conducted by Minfin [Ministry of Finance], Gosplan, Gosbank, Stroybank, and many other union-level departments, in accordance with instructions on mandatory procedures and at specific times--without any accounting at all, whether there is a need for it or not. True, thus far in practical terms our council has managed to coordinate only 20 or 25 percent of all the inspections. But if one wants to speak seriously about their economic effectiveness, then clearly the time has come for organizing the coordination of inspections on a state-wide basis on the national scale, flatly excluding departmental control.

[Question] It quite often happens that enterprises which traditionally operate well suddenly find themselves in arrears. Is it not because of the fact that such enterprises are frequently granted full freedom for any sort of "tricks," which then lead to unfortunate results?

[Answer] Frankly, we have not always paid attention to the fact that it is necessary to inspect and control not only the backward enterprises, but also the ones that are operating well. The essence of control is not to allow people to become complacent and to give themselves airs, but to urge them on continuously, to support and encourage valuable initiatives, and to point out mistakes and shortcomings at the proper time.

Today the republic's soviets and control authorities do not ignore those who have a solid reputation. Here is a specific example: in the past the Volta Plant was an outstanding enterprise. But in recent years it has fallen into the ranks of the laggards. What is the matter? It has already become a kind of unwritten rule that as long as an enterprise copes with the plan, the ministry or department is not in the least interested in it, and does not keep track of whether it is equipped at the appropriate technical level. And it is only when an association or plant begins to chronically lag behind and disrupt plans and tasks--only then is the question of its re-equipment decided upon. This costs the national economy very dearly. One must not fail to take this into account when organizing comprehensive inspections--of which we once again became convinced at the Volta Plant.

9006

CSO: 1800/652

PUGO SPEAKS TO MEDIA, PRESS MEMBERS ON RESTRUCTURING

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 4 Mar 87 p 1

[LATINFORM report on speech by Latvian CP Central Committee First Secretary B.K. Pugo at the 3 March 1987 meeting with media and press representatives in Riga: "See the Future in Restructuring"]

[Text] On 3 March a meeting was held at the Press Palace in Riga with the leaders of the republic's mass information and propaganda media, at which urgent tasks of press, TV and radio broadcasting were discussed in the light of the resolutions of the January 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Speaking to the participants in the meeting was Latvian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary B.K. Pugo.

It was noted that the meetings with M.S. Gorbachev and his words, addressed directly to the people during his stay in the Latvian SSR, allowed our working collectives to gain a new perspective on existing problems, and to feel more acutely the necessity for their swift solution and the need for everyone to reorganize.

Measures are presently being worked out for solving such pressing tasks as renovation of fixed assets, modernization of light industry, and improving housing construction. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee will adopt a plan of measures aimed at carrying out the principled instructions and critical remarks which were expressed, and the promises which were made.

However, approaches being taken to specific work are still unsatisfactory. In a number of cases there is not sufficient depth to the work, and perfunctory and obsolete methods are evident. In this connection the necessity for support was stressed, including support from the mass information media, in giving publicity to matters, however small, that are of practical use to the people: positive achievements; the initiatives of working collectives; and the seeds of the future.

Those taking part in the meeting were thoroughly briefed on measures taken for improving work with cadres and increasing their level of training, and stepping up the activities of members of party election authorities. It is a question, in particular, of reducing all kinds of meetings and sessions; of summoning the leaders to party and soviet organs; and transferring the principal focus of party work to the working collectives, and above all to those which are lagging.

Special emphasis was placed on the need to see the future of restructuring in our work. When preparing critical and problematical materials and shedding light on progressive experience, the mass information and propaganda media must set a favorable moral-psychological climate. Sharp criticism is needed in striking down bureaucratic barriers or in establishing order and discipline. But at the same time one must see the real state of affairs as well, and direct the people's thoughts toward improving things and helping them to gain confidence, display initiative, and overcome passivity and suspicion.

The most important concern of the press is to show the need for increasing the contribution of the republic's workers in the socio-economic development of the country. Until now in a number of cases we have been getting more than we give. In particular, efforts must be directed toward improving the fodder base and raising the yield of grain crops in order to avoid having to resort to centralized deliveries from national supplies. Radical improvement is needed in the manner of using electrical energy. Greater attention must be given to restructuring industries and introducing two and three-shift operations, organizing state acceptance, and raising production quality. The most important task is to eliminate the indebtedness which came about as a result of the national economy's failure to fulfill the plan for January, and to make sure that the plan for 1987 is fulfilled. In this connection examples were given which showed that it was possible to correct the situation in spite of all the difficulties. The city of Daugavpils was in very severe straits at the beginning of the year. However the citizens of Daugavpils managed to cope with their tasks in January on all counts. Railroaders and construction workers have begun to operate somewhat better. This experience must be studied and propagandized.

The restructuring should mobilize the people for better work. Toward this end it is necessary that they be convinced of the undeviating observance of social justice, and genuine positive achievements are needed. The democratization of society which has commenced in the republic is giving birth to civic spirit, activeness, and creative energies among the workers. This was displayed during the elections of the director of the RAF [expansion unknown] plant and the first secretary of the Gulbenskiy Party Raykom. Quite a few leaders at various levels in different places have been elected already. But the tasks in this area, including tasks for the press, are still great. The process of appointment by election must be worked out in all respects. The people must understand that as they take part in the process of democratization, they take upon themselves the lion's share of responsibility for carrying out the restructuring. They must be shown their personal stake above all in the fact that enterprises, shops, and sections must be led by trained people who are capable of organizing business matters, and not by those who promise an easy life. The latter type, even if he were elected, would not be able to create the basis for operation under conditions of self-financing and total cost accounting, and as a result would hurt the collective and every worker at the enterprise. Therefore, responsible officials must be taught to deeply respect not only the democratic norms, but also the standards for their use. At the same time, democratization should unite and not divide the people.

Thoroughly analyzed at the meeting were tasks for the press in further developing glasnost; in propaganda of scientific views on the process and results of restructuring; in striking down whatever retards progress; and in improving the procedure for providing materials to the press, TV and radio, and increasing their effectiveness.

B.K. Pugo also responded to questions from journalists.

Also taking part in the meeting were Latvian CP Central Committee Second Secretary V.P. Sobolyev and Central Committee Secretary A.V. Gorbunov.

9006

CSO: 1800/652

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

GRISHKYAVICHUS SPEAKS ON CONSTRUCTION IN LITHSSR

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 Apr 87 p 1

[ELTA report on speech by Pyatras Pyatrovich Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, at a 22 April meeting of the party organization of the Vilnius Order of Lenin Planning and Construction Association: "Restructuring in House Building--This Is a Qualitatively New Stage"]

[Excerpts] The Vilnius Order of Lenin Support and Model House Building Combine is widely known. Its work includes almost all of new Vilnius, awarded the Lenin Prize Lazdinay; other microrayons of the city; and also Nashilaychay which is presently being completed.

True, on 15 March of this year the combine was reorganized into the Vilnius Order of Lenin Planning and Construction Association. At the present time, a new planning unit of the association is being set up, and the lines of demarcation of work among planners and architects of the Institute of Planning of Municipal Construction and the association are being made more precise. At the association, the prospects of this reorganization are looked upon optimistically. This marks a new stage in the restructuring of house building taking place in the country, granting still greater independence to the association.

And under the conditions of the program outlined by the Communist Party of constructing residential buildings and providing by the year 2000 each family with housing accommodations, all measures bolstering the work of construction workers are extremely important.

On 22 April, communists and nonparty workers assembled for the first meeting of the association's party organization.

First Secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee P.P. Grishkyavichus and First Secretary of the Vilnius Party Gorkom V.K. Mikuchauskas came to the meeting for the builders.

The tasks of the association's party organization in the light of the decisions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum were on the meeting's agenda.

At the meeting, First Secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee P.P. Grishkyavichus made a speech. Pointing out that the party meeting was proceeding in a businesslike fashion and that at it the spirit of criticism and self-criticism prevailed, Comrade P.P. Grishkyavichyus spoke to those assembled of the changes taking place in the country and the republic in the course of implementing the policy outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress.

"Each sixth house made available this year in the cities of the republic," Comrade P.P. Grishkyavichus said subsequently, "has to be erected with the resources of your planning and construction association. You are also to put into operation a general educational school and four kindergarten-nurseries. In a word, the fulfillment of housing and social-construction plans in the republic, and first and foremost in Vilnius, will to a significant degree depend on you.

"Analysis of your work shows that the collective as a whole is able to successfully solve the posed tasks. This is attested to by the fact that your collective's work during the past year merited the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee. It is also gratifying that your collective has been included on the All-Union Honor Roll at the USSR Exhibition of National-Economic Achievements. This is a high appreciation of the strenuous work of your collective of 3,000 people and the work of its party organization.

"But you should in no way be content with what was achieved. It is necessary to undertake still more responsible and more difficult tasks. This year your collective will have to increase the use of residential buildings by 11 percent and labor productivity by 7 percent. All this will require a significant improvement in the work of all operational units and greater intentness, organization and solidarity of the party organization.

"Communists make up 10.5 percent of all the workers of your collective. But they can and must still more decisively mobilize all of the association's members for selfless labor and boldly conduct the fight for all that is new and advanced and against any barriers hindering the restructuring process.

"You completed fairly well this year's first quarter. You overfulfilled the plan of opening up housing by 25 percent of the annual volume of construction and installation work. You successfully dealt with targets for growth of labor productivity and fulfilled other of the plan's economic indicators.

"At this time, it is important for the association's management and party organization to designate and to carry out without interruption exhaustive measures so that by the end of the 5-year plan the production of items for large-panel house building will have increased by approximately 20 percent. In this connection, it is especially important to more actively engage the new microrayon of our capital -- Suderves-- in preparations for modernizing houses for construction.

"The solution of these tasks will require more energetic measures for the whole complex of the problem. Take, for example, the problem of reducing the share of heavy manual labor. At the present time, 40 percent of the workers

in your association are engaged in manual labor. This is abnormal. The engineers and the association's technical services must more concretely work on the solution of this question. They must be provided with necessary assistance by the Ministry of Construction, Gosstroy and supply organs.

"Accelerating the rate of construction and upgrading its quality must more actively contribute to improving the system of operation. For this end, former house-building combines, including yours, were reorganized into planning and construction associations. This is one of the first steps in the transition to building turnkey installations. However, in a number of cases, this question is being solved too hesitantly.

"Gosstroy and the Ministry of Construction should introduce clarity and clearly specify the rights, obligations and responsibility of the newly created construction subdivisions.

"Your association's management and party organization need to do a lot of work in the immediate future in connection with transferring it to the collective contract. Its individual units, as you know, are already operating under the new conditions of labor organization and pay. It is now necessary to propagandize their achievement and to effectively eliminate encountered difficulties. This work should primarily be headed by the economic services and the communists working there.

"The republic's party organization is paying great attention to questions of upgrading the quality of construction work. Quite a bit has already been done along this direction in your collective. But the number of complaints from persons newly moved in to unfinished work and to defects, including those for which you are responsible, is not diminishing. The basic reasons for them are non-observance of technological discipline both at the plant and at construction sites. The association's party committee needs to increase demands and to deal more strictly with managers of units in regard to the quality of newly opened housing.

"The entire course of restructuring is dictated by the need to pay more attention to people and to the satisfaction of their daily needs.

"In the report and speeches it was pointed out that your collective has accumulated quite a few problems requiring solution, first of all in providing housing for workers. With the transition of the association to self-support and self-financing, the situation in this matter should improve. With profitable work, and practice shows that you are able to work in this way, a portion of the profit needs to be allotted for the solution of social problems.

"In addition to improvement of housing conditions, measures should also be taken for creating conditions for members of the collective engaging in sports and amateur artistic activity. More than 30 percent of your workers consist of young people under 30 years of age. It is essential to direct their energy into proper channels.

"The collective's komsomol organization is doing well. It is carrying out important work with young people. But one cannot restrict oneself to that. At the 20th Komsomol Congress, the fact was justly emphasized that today the komsomol organization must be the young guard of restructuring. This commits the komsomol members of your collective to a great deal. The role of the komsomol organization must be considerably more active in upgrading production standards, in solving pressing social problems and in establishing social awareness in young people.

"The work conducted among you in cadre training and placement deserves a positive rating. Turnover is being reduced among workers, and a technically and politically literate collective of engineering and technical personnel has been created. Communists must work in all the decisive sectors of production.

"At the same time, the party committee and the entire party organization must concern themselves more with the practically undiminishing number of people on unauthorized leave and with losses of worktime. Last year, workers of your collective had 168 cases of absenteeism, as a result of which 309 workdays were lost. No significant improvement in this regard has occurred even in the present year.

"You should be concerned by the fact that in the collective both people fond of alcohol and violators of public order have not been transferred. Last year, 65 of the association's workers visited a medical sobering up station and 24 members of the collective were separated from work for appearing at work in an intoxicated state. These facts show that the association's party committee needs to raise the level of ideo-educational work. Managers of the collective and all its subdivisions have to more actively take part in it.

"In accordance with the decisions of the January CPSU Central-Committee Plenum, primary attention needs to be paid to the introduction of self-management. For this end, it is particularly important to involve brigade councils more widely in the solution of production and social problems. Up to now, they have not properly manifested themselves. Their work needs to be activated.

"We should more actively practice election of managers and competitive selection of specialists. This work has already been started in your collective. The chief of the metalwork shop was elected and a competition was held for filling the positions of the association's chief technologist and deputy chief of Construction Administration No 3. But the entire work was handled particularly formally since a single position was proposed to just one candidate. This is a violation of the party's rules for expansion of democratic principles in the selection of managerial personnel. Such an approach to this important question must be radically altered.

"As we see it, your collective and its party organization truly have many problems. And all of them are serious and very important. But the main one among them is to increase efforts on expanding and broadening restructuring. It is necessary to determinedly overcome difficulties and to more boldly take a new, progressive path.

"An important social and economic event--the 70th anniversary of Great October--is drawing near. Your collective, striving for a worthy marking of this day, has adopted increased socialist commitments. It is gratifying that they are being successfully fulfilled. Let this serve as a stimulus for shifting all of the collective's activities to qualitatively new levels."

In conclusion, Comrade P.P. Grishyavichus wished the whole collective of the Vilnius Planning and Construction Association new successes, good health and happiness.

At the meeting, pertinent decisions were adopted.

7697

CSO: 1800/593

DECREE TO IMPROVE FOOD SITUATION IN MOLDAVIA REPORTED

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Mar 87 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Moldavian CP Central Committee and MSSR Council of Ministers": "How to Guarantee More Food on Our Table"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The Moldavian CP Central Committee and MSSR Council of Ministers have adopted the decree "Additional Measures for Improving the Supplying of the Population of Moldavian SSR With Food Products."

In the decree it is stated that the first-priority task defined by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Moldavian CP Congress is the complete satisfying, within the shortest periods of time, of the public's increasing demand for high-quality food products. As a result of the consistent work of the party, soviet, and economic agencies in carrying out the food program of the Moldavian SSR, there has been an increase in agricultural production and an improvement in the way in the public is provided with food products.

At the same time, for a number of very important types of food products, especially meat and dairy products, the republic's needs are not being satisfied. In individual rayons, by no means complete use is being made of the available opportunities for the sufficient production of food products. All this is linked with the slow restructuring in the agroindustrial complex, and with omissions in the practical-organizational work of the party, soviet, and economic agencies, many of which have not yet made the proper conclusions from the keynote statements of the CPSU concerning the need for a fundamental improvement in the supplying of the public with food products, and have been demonstrating a dependent's attitude, hoping to receive those resources from centralized funds.

MSSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustry] and the rayon agroindustrial associations have not yet been imbued with a sense of high responsibility for the steady increase in production and the fulfillment of the plans for purchases of agricultural output. The work of the enterprises in the food industry to renew the variety of food products and to improve their quality is being restructured slowly. Frequently there are large losses of raw materials and instances of an uneconomical attitude in expending food resources. The opportunities provided by the new economic mechanism for

management are still being used insufficiently in the agroindustrial complex. There has been a reduction in the number of head of livestock, especially cow, on the personal plots in Rybnitskiy, Floreshtskiy, Brichanskiy, Faleshtskiy, and Oknitskiy rayons. The republic's industrial enterprises and organizations engage weakly in developing subsidiary farms.

The party's gorkoms and raykoms, and the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of workers' deputies in the republic do not always show the proper exactingness toward the managers of the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial associations], kolkhozes, plant-sovkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises (associations) and processing enterprises for fulfilling the plans for sale of output to the state and for producing the necessary food products and providing them to the public.

Major shortcomings continue to exist in organizing the trade in food products. MSSR Mintorg [Ministry of Trade] and Gosagroprom, Moldavpotrebsoyuz [Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives], the ispolkoms of the rayon and city soviets of people's deputies, and the managers of trade organizations frequently occupy a passive position; show inertia and untimeliness in resolving questions of satisfying people's daily needs and wants; make no effort to establish close ties between the trade organizations and the kolkhozes, plant-sovkhozes, sovkhozes, interfarm enterprises (associations), and citizens' private plots; and exert a weak influence upon enterprises in the processing industry in expanding the variety of output and improving its quality.

There are frequent interruptions in the supplying of fruits, berries, vegetables, potatoes, and melon crops to the public, even during the season when the harvest is being brought in. The period of time when the public can purchase fresh vegetables is limited to two or three months. There is an acute shortage of early potatoes, cabbage, hothouse vegetables, onions, carrots, and greens. The republic's farms regularly fail to meet the contract pledges with regard to the delivery of fruits and vegetables to the trade system and for laying in supplies for prolonged storage, with regard to the deadlines, variety, and quality.

We have not yet seen in our republic the proper extension or broad scope of the sale of fruits and vegetables by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises to organizations in the consumer cooperative system or at kolkhoz markets at prices in accordance with an understanding, with an offset to plan fulfillment of as much as 30 percent of the planned volume of purchases. In 1986 the total quantity of produce sold through this form of trade came to only 67,000 tons of vegetables, potatoes, fruits, grapes, and melon crops, or 2 percent of the overall volume of purchases of those types of produce. Trade is organized especially unsatisfactorily at the kolkhoz markets in the cities of Kishinev, Beltsy, Tiraspol, Kagul, Rybnitsa, and certain others. There has been a slow buildup in the volumes of purchases of agricultural produce at prices in accordance with an understanding with the Moldavpotrebsoyuz organization.

MSSR Gosagromprom, Moldavpotrebsoyuz, and the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies in 1986 failed to fulfill the assignments for construction of storage facilities out of lightweight metal structurals for

potatoes, vegetables, and fruits, and also for setting up pavilions and booths for market trade in fruits and vegetables.

Attaching great importance to these questions, the Moldavian CP Central Committee and MSSR Council of Ministers have required the party's city and rayon committees, the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, Gosagroprom, MSSR Ministry of Bread Products and Ministry of Trade, and Moldavpotrebsoyuz to analyze critically the state of affairs with the production of food products and the organizing of trade in them in every city and rayon in the republic, and, using the opportunities provided by the new economic mechanism for management in the agroindustrial complex and in trade, to carry out specific steps to eliminate the existing shortcomings in food supply, to intensify organizing work at kolkhozes, plant-sovkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises (associations), enterprises and organizations of the processing industry and in trade for the purpose of restructuring their activities, and to take steps to develop the subsidiary farms at enterprises and organizations, as well as the citizens' private plots, so that, as early as 1987, it will be possible to improve everywhere the supplying of the public with meat and dairy products, potatoes, fruits and vegetables, and other output.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee and MSSR Council of Ministers have required the party organizations and the managers of kolkhozes, plant-sovkhozes, sovkhozes, interfarm enterprises (associations), and enterprises in the processing branches of industry to achieve the maximum activation in 1987 of all the reserves and opportunities for increasing the production of grain, meat, milk, sugar beets, oil-bearing crops, and other output on the basis of the broad application of intensive technological schemes in animal and vegetable husbandry, the reduction of losses of output, and the improvement of its quality.

The party's gorkoms and raykoms, the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, and the republic's economic agencies have been advised to take all steps to support and develop the initiative of the labor collectives at kolkhozes, plant-sovkhozes, sovkhozes, interfarm enterprises (associations), and other enterprises in the agroindustrial complex in their acceptance of counterplans and socialist pledges for increasing in 1987 the production and sale to the state of livestock and poultry, milk, and other agricultural output, and for producing high-quality food products. The point of departure at such time must be the assumption that it is necessary not only to reinforce everywhere the rates that have been achieved in the first year of the five-year plan with regard to the increase in agroindustrial production, but also to guarantee their further rise.

MSSR Gosagroprom and the ispolkoms of the rayon soviets of people's deputies are to carry out the necessary steps to encourage the kolkhozes, plant-sovkhozes, and sovkhozes to fulfill the plans for the purchases of agricultural produce by means of the countersale to them of material-technical resources enjoying increased demand, and also to provide the psychological and material incentives to the workers at enterprises in the agroindustrial complex who have achieved high indicators in increasing the production of food products and improving their quality.

Notice has been taken of the insufficient work of Moldavpotrebsoyuz in organizing purchases from the public of meat, milk, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, and berries in order to sell them to the local supply system in the republic's cities and rayon centers. It is inadmissible that the central agencies continue to receive justified complaints from citizens concerning refusals to accept output that has been grown on their personal plots. The board of governors of Moldavpotrebsoyuz (chairman, K. A. Melnik), jointly with the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, must carry out a fundamental change in the work forms and methods of the organizations in the consumer cooperative system, having in mind, as early as 1987, a considerable increase in the sale to the public of meat products, potatoes, vegetables, fruits, berries, and grapes in cooperative trade. For these purposes, there will be a further extension of the network of procurement, processing, and trade enterprises, and an expansion of the sale of agricultural output at kolkhoz markets and by way of the specialized trade network.

The ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies in the republic are to consider and resolve the question of rendering assistance to organizations in the consumer cooperative system in developing the retail trade network and warehouse management in the cities and rayon centers, and in providing manpower for those places.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee and MSSR Council of Ministers feel that MSSR Mintorg, Gosagroprom, and Moldavpotrebsoyuz have been moving too slowly in restructuring their work of providing the public with a reliable supply of high-quality food products. Little is being done to develop direct ties between trade organizations and agricultural enterprises. In the trade system, one continues to see the insufficient application of progressive forms of providing services to the public, especially in increasing the sale of commodities on the basis of prior orders. The work of creating cooperatives in the public-nutrition sphere is not being extended broadly. There have been major omissions in the distribution of commodity resources. They are required to make the appropriate conclusions and, within the shortest periods of time, to improve the state of affairs in the trade of food products.

The recommendations made by MSSR Gosplan, Gosagroprom, Ministry of Bread Products, and Ministry of Trade, and Moldavpotrebsoyuz concerning additional volumes of production and shipment in 1987, against the market fund, of high-quality flour, hulled and rolled products, margarine, confectionery articles, canned fruits and vegetables, and other food products have been approved. MSSR Gosplan and Gosplan, with the participation of the appropriate ministries and departments, are supposed to resolve the question of supporting the production of these commodities by providing the necessary packing and packaging materials.

MSSR Ministry of Trade has had pointed out to it the need, when distributing additional resources of food products, to stipulate the providing of them first of all, and chiefly, to Kishinev, as well as to Beltsy, Tiraspol, and Bendery.

MSSR Gosagroprom and Mintorg, Moldavpotrebsoyuz, the city and rayon committees of Moldavian CP, the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, and the rayon agroindustrial associations have been given the responsibility of:

- guaranteeing the taking of all steps to expand the sale of vegetables and potatoes at kolkhoz markets and, on the basis of direct ties according to the "field to store" principle and prices in accordance with an understanding, to organizations in the consumer cooperative system; increasing the role of the kolkhoz markets in attracting the kolkhozes, plant-sovkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises in the sale of agricultural produce; more broadly developing in the cities and rayon centers the use of fairs for trading in fruits, vegetables, table grapes, melon crops, potatoes, and other food products;

- stipulating -- when concluding contracts for the purchase of agricultural products in 1987-1990 -- the sale by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises of potatoes, vegetables, melon crops, fruits, berries, and table grapes to Moldavpotrebsoyuz at prices in accordance with the understanding and at kolkhoz markets with an offset in fulfillment of the planned purchases;

- taking effective steps to fulfill completely the assignments for construction and activation of fruit and vegetable storage facilities, as well as the storage facilities made of lightweight metal structurals for potatoes, vegetables, and fruits in 1987-1990 which were stipulated by the 31 May 1984 decree of the MSSR Council of Ministers;

- opening up additionally in 1987 five specialized stores (two in Kishinev, and one each in Bendery, Beltsy, and Tiraspol) for permanent trade in agricultural produce, primarily vegetables and fruits in fresh and processed form.

The ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies in the cities mentioned have been given instructions to allocate to the organizations in the consumer cooperative system the areas for organizing those stores; to expand the direct ties that the procurement and trade organizations have with the kolkhozes, plant-sovkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural organizations; to intensify the self-interestedness of the workers in the fruit and vegetable complex in guaranteeing the intactness of the produce and the reduction of produce losses during storage; and to equip the kolkhoz markets with mechanization means, refrigerators, and the necessary weighing equipment.

In order to provide the prompt shipment from places of production to the kolkhoz markets, MSSR Gosplan has been given the responsibility of allocating, by earmarked designation, to Moldavpotrebsoyuz a financial limit for shipping in 1987 fruit and vegetable produce in a volume of 25,000 tons.

For purposes of fundamentally improving the supplying of the public in the republic's cities with high-quality fruit and vegetable produce, it has been deemed desirable to define for the cities of Kishinev, Beltsy, Tiraspol, and Bendery specialized farms in the suburban rayons, and for Rybnitsa, Kagul,

Soroki, Orgeyev, and Ungeny, to create agrarian-trade associations on the base of the large-scale suburban vegetable-growing farms, and to transfer to them the appropriate trade enterprises and bases for the storage of produce;

MSSR Gosagroprom, the party's gorkoms and raykoms, and the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies must make the necessary decisions concerning the implementation of the indicated forms of round-the-clock supplying of the public in the republic's cities with fruits and vegetables. In necessary instances, recommendations are to be made to MSSR Council of Ministers concerning the change in the plans for delivery of fruits and vegetables to the nationwide fund and for local consumption.

The raykoms and the ispolkoms of the rayon soviets of people's deputies in the republic, MSSR Gosagroprom and Mintorg, and Moldavpotrebsoyuz have had pointed out to them the need to intensify the work of selecting, assigning, and educating the managerial cadres and specialists at procurement and trade enterprises and organizations, and to reinforce the decisive trade sectors with competent, initiatory, honest people who are capable of effectively organizing the work under the present-day management conditions; to take decisive steps to get rid of persons who have committed malfeasances, or who have displayed an irresponsible or inefficient attitude in resolving questions of supplying the public with food products; and to organize the necessary training of cadres of trade workers, using for this purpose the training network of MSSR Gosprofobr [State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education] and Moldavpotrebsoyuz.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee and MSSR Council of Ministers have expressed their firm confidence that the party, soviet, and economic agencies in the cities and rayons, and the workers in the agroindustrial complex and in the trade system, in conformity with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Moldavian CP Congress, will succeed in carrying out in 1987 -- the jubilee year of the Soviet authority -- substantial shifts in improving the supplying of the public with high-quality food products.

5075

CSO: 1800/521

GEORGIAN LEADERS NOTE MIXED RESULTS OF STATE ACCEPTANCE

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Mar 87 pp 1-2

[Unattributed GRUZINFORM report: "State Acceptance: Initial Results and Initial Lessons"]

[Text] The broad spectrum of problems associated with the introduction of state acceptance of output at many of this republic's enterprises, for the purpose of improving their economic operation and changing them over to a new system of economic management, was discussed at the regular session of the Georgian CP Central Committee Coordinating Council. The initial results of working under the new system were given an in-depth analysis from the standpoint of the requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The experience gained since the beginning of this year, and the problems which have arisen, were given a critical interpretation, and the Council defined effective measures for increasing the efficiency of non-departmental inspection in qualitatively reorganizing the republic's industry and accelerating its economic and social development.

The session was presided over by First Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee D. I. Patiashvili.

Deputy chairmen of the GSSR Council of Ministers V. I. Vadachkoriya, B. D. Makharashvili, O. V. Melkadze gave information to the session, as did D. L. Kartvelishvili, chief of the Georgian Republican Administration of USSR Gostandart [State Committee for Standards] and directors of the associations and enterprises where state acceptance of output was introduced.

Second Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee B. V. Nikolskiy and Chairman of the GSSR Council of Ministers O. Ye. Cherkeziya both addressed the session.

The results of the session were summarized by Comrade D. I. Patiashvili.

It was mentioned that definite positive improvements have been noticed in the work of those industrial enterprises which have been changed over to the new checking system. Thus, whereas in January 84.8 percent of the output which is subject to state acceptance was accepted through non-departmental control, 94.7 percent was accepted in February. During the first month of the year, 9

manufacturers failed to attain a 100-percent return of products through state quality control, with 6 doing the same in February.

State acceptance of output requires enterprises to put things in order on all sides--production methods, organization and supply. Having become a strict examiner, non-departmental checking has once again persuaded industrial executives of the fairness of the economic axiom:

REGULARITY GUARANTEES QUALITY

If a production conveyor operates without malfunctions or rush work, and if people display a high degree of responsibility for their assigned task, there will be almost no unsolvable problems in improving product quality. This has been proven by workers of the Poti Hydraulic Mining and Earth-Moving Machine Building Plant.

Statistics for this enterprise show that for January and February the program for state acceptance of output amounted to 100.2 percent, and the Poti workers approved an additional several thousands of rubles' worth of their products with non-departmental inspections. Nor did they have a single item returned for reworking in the first ten days of March. This stable work stems from efficiently fulfilling the 10-day plans. And state acceptance has forced them to put a stop to the usual end-of-the-month rush of catch-up work. Relying on the norms which strictly regulate the time spent to check on the quality of each hydraulic suction dredge, the non-departmental checking employees have resolutely refused to hasten this process, so that the machine builders now know that it makes no sense for them to "stack up" output for state acceptance during the last days of the production plan in order to fulfill the plan for output sales at any price, since any output the inspectors don't have time to check won't be shipped out. The result is that this is already the third month the plant has fulfilled up to a third of its production program within the first ten working days.

Through the month, the submission of output to the state acceptance organs proceeds relatively uniformly and proportionally at Tbilisi's Sabchota Sakartvelo Worsted Fabric Plant, the Azot Production Association and steel mill in Rustavi and at the Bytmash Plant in Batumi.

However, things are not going this way everywhere. The following disturbing facts were presented at the coordinating council's session: over 70 percent of the month's volume of output was cut out during the third 10-day plan period at the Elektrovibromashina Plant in Tskhinvali, half of the output at Tbilisi's Analitpribor Production Association and the Mikrodivigatel and Ekran plants, and at the Foundry Equipment Plant imeni Kalinin, almost the entire month's quota of foundry equipment was produced at the end of the month.

Irregular work is becoming a serious obstacle to quality and is forcing enterprises to manufacture their output in helter-skelter fashion at the end of the accounting period, with little concern for quality. But in fact the enterprises which went over to state acceptance comprise one of this republic's leading industrial complexes, producing almost R1.3 billion in products annually. This is why we have witnessed such immeasurable growth in

the role and responsibility of those captains of industry who have been called to organize this matter so that none of these items will be reckoned as being of poor quality. Non-departmental quality control must become the real test of the political maturity of everyone from workers to ministers, and must be the indicator which visibly reveals their professional suitability, skill and their desire to improve their working methods. The time has come to move from words to deeds, and from complaining about state acceptance's excessive faultfinding to fundamentally improving output quality.

And the following fact is convincing proof that this improvement still remains to be made and that this problem is still on the agenda: according to data from the accounting period, some 83 percent of output has been turned over since the second submittal. So, were it not for state acceptance, substandard products would find their way to the consumer, and this would engender a stream of replacement complaints. At the same time, the above figure is also evidence of the stringency of non-departmental control, and the reluctance of those carrying it out to compromise.

Acceptance results depend on the enterprise itself, and on the quality of each worker, specialist and director. If every product, every operation and every manufacturing process meets prescribed requirements, there will be no obstacle of any sort to the final production and the labor collective will execute its tasks and obligations to society. And society will pay it back in full for work well done. But defective output and substandard work will be reckoned with as strictly as wrecking major Party targets.

State acceptance of output, as emphasized by those attending the session, is basically synonymous with a high degree of state discipline, and with overcoming any lack of discipline, negligence and mismanagement which might cause appreciable and irrevocable harm to the economy. Moreover, this is the right way to further improve the distributive mechanism, when each person can claim only that share of society's blessings which he actually deserves.

And in this matter state acceptance must not act only as a punitive organ, but has been called primarily to

BE BOTH INSPECTOR AND HELPER

For the first two months of the year, non-departmental control personnel refused to accept over R15 million in industrial products. Careless workers were fined severely. However, those who work with a clear conscience suffer along with them. The fact is, unsold output has a direct effect on the entire collective's wage fund. Here are some specific examples: the Tbilisi Machine Tool-Building Production Association did some poor work on the whole, and the assembly shop's monthly wages fell by R70-R80 for example, and the same reason caused Gruzelektromash Production Association workers to receive some R20-R25 less per month. However, in the places where things are taking a turn for the better, there is evidence of people becoming more motivated. And although workers at Tbilisi's Elektroapparat Production Association are only making R5 more per month, this attests to the positive trend outlined here, and the main thing is that it is convincing people that high-quality work is profitable.

The practice of enterprises working under state acceptance of output has shown that the interrelation of non-departmental inspection and product inspections carried out by the Technical Control Division has not been properly straightened out everywhere. Essentially, they exist and operate in a number of places by themselves instead of in close partnership. The fact is, the inspection of output at the terminus of the manufacturing process, before it is sent through the gates of the enterprise, is determined in large part by the quality of the down-the-line inspections carried out within all the plant's manufacturing subdivisions. And it is very important here that we have state acceptance people evaluate the quality of the work of the Technical Control Division and evaluate each of its workers, which will in turn determine plant inspectors' salaries.

The directors of all the enterprises where state acceptance of output has been introduced gave reports on the work done so far. An analysis of this information shed light on both positive trends and unresolved problems. And attention was focussed on them as well. The primary discussion of these problems revealed reasons which are typical of many lagging plants. One of the central reasons is the sluggishness of some enterprises and their directors in preparing for the introduction of non-departmental inspection. Thus a serious situation has befallen the Kutaisi Furniture Combine, where they have an acute problem with the quality of the products they manufacture. So far, they have failed to develop a concrete program for improving the quality of their products. Radical measures also need to be taken at the Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Works where, judging by the results of the first two months of this year, state acceptance organs have refused to pass over R10 million in output. This enterprise should radically restructure the organization of the production facility, strengthen performance discipline and make the labor force more responsible for the final results of its work.

Today, the first and most important task of Party and managerial personnel consists in putting production in order, waging an uncompromising struggle with slipshod workers and in reliably keeping worthless and useless products from being manufactured. It is not by gathering information on the state of affairs, but keeping efficient control of the local situation, holding daily consultations with people and being aware of their thoughts and moods which will determine the present-day effectiveness of the work of the party committees and state agencies. The Party gorkoms and ispolkoms of city soviets, first of all in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Batumi and Rustavi, which have the greatest concentration of those enterprises which first changed over to state acceptance, must take more objective and purposeful charge of this affair. The other Party committees and ispolkoms of local Soviets of People's Deputies should already have been involving themselves in these problems, since the time is near at hand when almost every industrial enterprise will have non-departmental inspection. The session emphasized that it is time to prepare for this right now. Indeed, the effectiveness and stability of the state acceptance agencies' work and, in the final analysis, the feasibility of making qualitative transformations in all sectors of the national economy and the social sphere depend on how this or that plant is made ready for the changeover to the new system for inspecting output quality.

The session determined specific ways to overcome the shortcomings which have come to light while working under the state acceptance system, and has required that heads of party, state and economic agencies take all necessary measures to get this affair put into requisite state order, taking into account the initial results and the initial lessons of the non-departmental inspection activities in light of the decisions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Comrades V. I. Alavidze, O. G. Vardezelashvili, P. G. Gidashvili, G. D. Mgeladze, N. A. Chitanava, G. G. Gumbaridze, D. V. Margvelidze and N. R. Sadzhaya also participated in the session.

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CSO: 1830/550

WRITER ASKS PUBLICATION OF KHRUSHCHEV REPORT ON STALIN

PM251443 [Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 June 1987 carries on page 4 under the headline "Sergey Antonov: A Novella's Background" a 4,000-word interview with writer Sergey Antonov by its correspondent Bronislav Taroshchin, following publication of Antonov's novella "Vaska" in the March and April issues of the journal YUNOST.

According to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's brief introduction to the interview, "there have been breaks of 3-4 years in the writer's work in the past. But the latest one lasted almost 15 years. Finally, the journal YUNOST published his novella 'Vaska' in its March and April issues this year. Both readers and critics still have to interpret this event. There will probably be articles about a 'new' and even a 'strange' Antonov."

"Vaska" apparently covers the period of the Moscow metro's construction, and its heroine is "the daughter of a Kulak who has escaped resettlement and, through an oversight by the cadres department, made her way to a construction project in the capital."

Antonov describes the historical background of the metro's construction, saying that "Stalin lost all patience and, without going deep into engineering estimates, ordered that the first line be operational on 7 November 1934. There could, of course, be no objections."

Asked about the source of his background knowledge, Antonov says that he was "greatly helped" in his work by "the volumes of stenographic accounts of the CPSU congresses and conference, filled with voices from the past, which started being published in the late fifties. Unfortunately, by 1968 this most valuable publication halted half-way. I hope that it will soon be resumed and continued and that our contemporaries will gain access to these historic documents, including N.S. Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Congress, which was published in many countries in the world but not ours."

Following a lengthy discussion about the novella and the fate of its heroes, the role of the Writers Union and its leadership in the past, and the importance of humor and satire in Russian and Soviet literature, Antonov is asked about his attitudes to his own popularity in the fifties and sixties and to himself at the age of 40. He replies:

"Highly critical. For quite a long time I perceived life in a naive and superficial fashion. For a long time I failed to sense the tragical and latent trends of the times, as if someone had hypnotized me. Innocent people were being subjected to repression, while I--as if nothing was happening--was writing the 'Poddubenskiye Ditties.' Only the 20th Party Congress opened my eyes."

In reply to Taroshchin's last question, Antonov says that 'Vaska' was written 13 years ago but "did not reach the readers for reasons beyond the author's or editorial office's control," and concludes:

"The fact that the novella was not printed the first time did not discourage me. I wrapped up the manuscript and put it on the shelf, next to my 'legal' books. I was convinced that I would live to see the time when 'Vaska' would be read also by people outside my close circle. And I did."

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CSO: 1800/671

WRITER'S DIARY DESCRIBES PRESSURE TO HALT NOVEL

PM041145 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 22, May 87 p 16

[Tatyana Bek feature: "A Novel About A Novel. (the story of Aleksandr Bek's 'The New Appointment')"]

[Text] All through his literary career, which began in 1932 with a contribution to the Maksim Gorkiy sponsored series "The History of Factories and Plants", Aleksandr Bek (1903-1972) kept a diary to record his plans and ideas, the main stages of their realization, editing and publication. Some of that material was edited and published by the author in his lifetime (see "Epistolary Prose" and "In the Course of My Life"). Many of his wartime and postwar diaries were prepared for publication and appeared after Aleksandr Bek's death (e.g. "The Story of 'The Volokolamsk Highroad'"). Aleksandr Bek used to call it, not without bitter irony, "A Novel About a Novel". This is the diary he kept through the 1960s, which reflected the struggle around the publication of his novel, The New Appointment, finally undertaken 14 years after the author's death by the ZNAMYA literary monthly (Nos. 10-11, 1986).

Excerpts from this diary are sure to evoke an interested response in today's readers' minds and hearts.

October 15, 1964

This morning I handed my novel to the editors. Yevgeniy Gerasimov, chief of the prose section and member of the editorial board of the NOVY MIR monthly, had telephoned me and said:

"I'll pop in to take it. Is everything ready?"

"Everything. Come and take it."

I said that with a shade of pity. Somehow, one feels sad when the work one has been living tete-a-tete with for many, many days, which make up years; whose every chapter one has built up and elaborated; the work one has regarded as one's own, especially if one considers it one's Main Book (or at least, the first part of such a book) - when it suddenly sets sail to live and battle on its own....

Now I can tidy up my desk, destroy the remaining rough drafts and the few last insertions I've made while preparing the text for the typist.

In so doing, I came across a sheet of paper with a list of possible titles.... After many doubts, I christened my brainchild, "The Clash". The Russian word (sshibka) is not very melodious or easy to pronounce. It's a medical term coined by Ivan Pavlov. Besides, its first meaning is a 'bout', 'clash', 'confrontation', or 'battle'.

The same date, towards evening

What an unexpected development! I handed in my manuscript in the daytime, and just now learned the sensational news of Khrushchev's removal and deposition...

Well, let this event be another, additional test for my work. Time and history are yet to put it through many tests.

October 28, 1964.

They favourably received my novel at the magazine NOVY MIR. Gerasimov said something like this: "I'm not going to pay you compliments. You can do without them. To put it simply, this work of yours is a success. You have presented a new character, and through him presented the character of the period. I'll stop my praise at that. Your manuscript has been given to other members of the editorial board to read. We'll prepare it for the first issue, to open the new year with your novel...."

In the prose section, my novel was read by Asya Berzer. This pale and seemingly frail woman has a man's nature. Her judgement is manly and direct. She told me:

"I've read it with interest." (Her "with interest" is a great mark of recognition). "I've learned much from it, too."

"What did you make of the main character?"

"He's an executive, all but a slave. Yet you admire him: what a brilliant executive he is! The age of brilliant executives. And high above them, the despotic Stalin."

"What of my treatment of him?"

"Well, I told you, I read it with interest."

November 2, 1964

I gave my novel to friends and a few close acquaintances to read and got favorable comments. Anatoliy Rybakov said, "Excellent work!"

He is no respecter of persons. He's a man of character, and would never think twice of telling you everything he thinks of your work. I like this talent, the clarity of his affirmations and negotiations. One of the coming issues of NOVY MIR is to carry the long story I have long heard from him about (The work in question is the first variant of Anatoliy Rybakov's novel, Children of Arbat - T.B.). Rybakov is vibrant with passion about his subject. If he does not pour it onto paper, he would suffocate and die.

November 20, 1964

The unruffled journey of my manuscript has come to an end.

This is how it happened.

The manuscript was taken by Aleksandr Grigoryevich Dementyev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of NOVY MIR, but he had no time to read it. One day, I managed to catch him on the phone: "I'll come to your office on Tuesday, at four o'clock."

At the appointed hour I waited for Dementyev. He came to the empty office of Tvardovskiy, who was still out of Moscow. Other members of the editorial board, that is, the monthly's "workhorses", began pouring in. Formerly, the editorial board of NOVY MIR consisted primarily of "names", as was the case with other literary monthlies. One group of people attended the sittings, while others did the work. It was Tvardovskiy who changed the procedure by letting the names of those who shoulder the burden of daily editing, issue by issue, decorate the monthly's last page....

There was a few moments' silence. Then Dementyev addressed me:

"What is it that you gave us?"

"How do you mean, what is it? A novel."

"Who did you portray in it?"

"What do you mean?"

I mean, my dear, that the widow of Tevosyan has handed in a written statement to the effect that it is her late husband who's depicted in your novel." (In the war and first postwar years, described in the novel, I.F. Tevosyan was in charge of the ferrous metallurgy and metallurgical industry - T.B.)

"But my character is no Tevosyan. It would be ridiculous for me to explain to you how literary images are created."

However, Dementyev had by that time got into a rage and barely listened to me. Of course, I was dumbfounded. Not so much by the intervention of Tevosyan's widow, as by Dementyev's attack. This intelligent man was hard to recognize. I wondered what happened to throw him so off his balance? Could I ever penetrate the mystery?

November 21, 1964

In late November 1964, Bek worked on his manuscript, as is evident from his diary: "I'm introducing all sort of corrections, and excluding coincidences which might be used as a pretext for equating Onisimov (the novel's main character - T.B.) with Teovsyan." Besides, the writer compiled a detailed "Notes for Editors", in which he proved, point by point, that his novel featured a generalized image, summing up three decades of his "experience with people in industry". To conclude his statement, which in itself was quite absurd (a prominent writer, the leader of Soviet documentary feature writing had to explain to equally competent people the difference between a prototype and a literary character), Aleksandr Bek wrote the following: "This is not my cup of tea." The writer could not imagine how many more papers he would yet have to compile to defend - all in vain - his most cherished book.

January 28, 1965

Yesterday, I went to see Konstantin Simonov. He appreciated the way Stalin was described, and found the character of Onisimov an achievement. "The academician is also convincing. One believes in his authenticity."

I remember his saying in connection with my Academician (Chelyshev - T.B.): "You see, even in those harsh times it was possible to say 'no' to Stalin."

There seemed to be something personal in his intonation as he said that. As far as I know, Simonov himself never dared to say no. Afterwards, he condemned himself for that. Apparently, inside, he is still battling to develop his attitude towards Stalin.

On July 6, 1965, the manuscript, read through and summarily approved by Tvardovskiy, was sent by NOVY MIR to the press. The following day, Bek wrote: "It was decided to give up 'The Clash' as the title. The editors suggested that the novel be entitled 'The New Appointment'."

On July 31, however, the writer received a letter from the NOVY MIR editors in which he was informed that a "higher authority" had forwarded to them O.A. Khvalebnova's letter of protest against the revised version of his novel. The publication was suspended.

Many pages in his diary describe the author's feelings of shock and dismay at the bureaucratic pressure from the "higher authority". Apart from Tevosyan's widow, who wrote to A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, that the novel was "full of monstrous calumny", a "group of metallurgists" also spoke up against the novel using the same "charges". NOVY MIR took the novel out of the issue.

It would be quite appropriate in this context to quote Grigoriy Baklanov, who deemed it necessary to publish "The New Appointment" in the ZNAMYA literary monthly as soon as he was nominated that monthly's Editor-in-Chief.

In an interview with the OGONEK weekly's correspondent, Grigoriy Baklanov said: "When we began publishing his novel, the same group of people, although aged 20 years, tried to exert pressure on us, using the same methods. They demanded to be given the opportunity to reread the manuscript, and called for the novel to be banned. I had to explain to them that we live in a constitutional country whose laws are equally binding on all, that there exists copyright according to which, even if the editors agreed to that demand, they could not give the manuscript to outsiders without the author's consent."

In 1966, the writer tried to appeal to Brezhnev. People in the Writer's Union and the Central Committee did their best to calm him down by promising to get things going as far as the publication was concerned.

On January 17, 1966, Aleksandr Bek wrote down his impressions of the conversation he had with secretary G.M. Markov of the writers' Union Board. "In this whole situation," he said, "I am firmly on your side." About the novel he said: "All of our heroism and drama is there. This must be published, the sooner the better."

In the meantime, O.A. Khvalebnova organized fresh statements signed by highly-placed people. All attempts by NOVY MIR at publishing the novel failed, time after time.

Here is an entry dated 1969.

January 16

Yesterday, I went to the NOVY MIR offices. Their issue No. 12 is suspended... My impression is that they are being slowly stifled. But the editors are still kicking... Yesterday, they sent back the page proofs of my novel from another literary monthly with a letter (about Stalin, and in defence of Stalin) from the Editor-in-Chief. It is the last touch to the whole picture. He has put into words what has so far been painstakingly kept secret. I think I can now put a full stop in my Novel About a Novel.

There's a copy of the letter stored in between the pages of the diary. It reads: "No doubt, the novel is written in a strong, sure hand. But its main idea seems definitely unacceptable to us. The gist of the novel is this: All the people who had worked with Stalin and believed in him are doomed by history... This idea is personified in Onisimov. On the other hand, those who were further removed from the leader, or who had inner doubts about him, are this country's future..."

"How can we agree to such a philosophy? Those who are in their forties now implicitly believed in Stalin -- these are the people making up the majority of today's executives at all levels. We believe that you were guided not by real life, but by a preconceived idea of your own making."

In February 1969, A.T. Tvardovskiy was removed from his post as Editor-in-Chief of NOVY MIR. Aleksandr Bek was mortified by that human, literary and social drama. He wrote in his diary: 'Tvardovskiy sat through the procedure with a set and grave expression. His deputy Kondratovich was destroying papers in his office and cleaning the drawers of his desk. Well it's time to go home...

In 1971, Aleksandr Bek's novel was published abroad. The fact that his book could not be published in his mother tongue was a tragedy the writer was unable to survive. Nevertheless, he ended the relevant entry on an optimistic note: "I hope and trust that the novel shall overcome."

The novel did overcome. It was published in the country Aleksandr Bek loved so devotedly, and evoked massive interest among the reading public, thus reviving our interest in the writer and his work. Yet, there can be no appeasing the bitterness so poignantly expressed in the recent poem by Vladimir Kornilov, "In Memory of Alexander Bek": "That man died in the clash, not because of a tumor, as doctors implied..."

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CSO: 1812/241

CULTURE

BRIEFS

FILM TAKES INTERNATIONAL PRIZE--The film "Repentance" by Soviet director T. Abuladze has won the international critics' prize, it has been announced at the Cannes International Film Festival. The winner of the main prize, the Palme d'Or, will be decided on the evening of 19 May, REUTER reports. [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 87 Morning Edition p 4] /9604

CSO: 1800/671

SOCIAL ISSUES

CPSU CITES NEED FOR CRITICAL CHANGES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 3, Mar 87 (signed to press 27 Feb 87) pp 3-19

[Article by V. V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the CPSU Central Committee: "The Strategy of Acceleration and Questions of the Restructuring of the Social Sciences"]

[Text] A year has passed since the 27th CPSU Congress. Increasingly distinctly it is apparent how fruitful and substantial its influence has proved to be on the whole atmosphere of social life in the country. The positive advances in the sphere of the economy, in the political, social, and spiritual spheres. At the same time, practice shows what difficulties the restructuring is encountering at which the congress aimed the party and the country. This was illuminated especially clearly in the course of the creative discussion at the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which thoroughly examined the question "On the Restructuring and the Personnel Policy of the Party."

At the Plenum, ways for achieving the strategic aims of the restructuring were determined. These are the thorough renewal of all aspects of the life of the country, the fuller and more substantial opening up of the possibilities of the socialist order, its humanistic nature, and the bringing into action of the entire potential of socialism with its powerful human factor. A profound determination was given of the substantial revolutionary aspect of the restructuring, its basic directions, and the current and long-term tasks. The first experience, the first steps in regard to the implementation of the new ideas and new approaches are conducive to their clarification.

The party documents emphasize that in the conditions of the present, crucial stage of the development of Soviet society, life raises large-scale and difficult problems, which require thorough scientific analysis. "The multi-faceted tasks of acceleration, its interrelated aspects--political, economic, scientific-technical, social, cultural-spiritual, and psychological--are in need of further thorough and comprehensive analysis," it was noted in the Political Report of the Central Committee at the 27th CPSU Congress. "We are experiencing an urgent need for serious philosophical generalizations, well substantiated economic and social prognoses, and profound historical research."

The party has given the social sciences a social order: On the basis of profound penetration into the processes of life, scientific vision and prognoses,

basing themselves on the unshakeable principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and creatively developing it, to secure an increase in the knowledge about the world in which we live, to enrich the conceptions that have taken shape about the society which we are building, and to expose the operation of the basic contradictions and different trends in the diversity and routine business of daily occurrence.

The fundamental requirements of the time, of the revolutionary renewal of society, have confronted the social scientists with a task that is large-scale in terms of its content and significance--to make their contribution to the acceleration of the social and economic development of the country and especially to the restructuring of the habits, psychology, and everyday consciousness of man that have become fixed, and to education--bold, creative, and capable of thinking and acting independently, and not on orders from above.

The tasks that are before the scholars and social scientists were made concrete in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the journal KOMMUNIST" and in the materials of the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments of VUZ's held in October 1986, and the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. These documents represent a developed program aimed at increasing the theoretical level of research, the improvement of its organization, and the strengthening of the link of the social sciences with practice.

* * *

Are our social sciences prepared for this? How did they respond to the demand of the party to go after significant theoretical and practical results and the concrete needs of practice? How profoundly did they realize the conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress about the fact that "our philosophical and economic front, and what is more, social science as a whole, are in a state. . . of a certain remoteness from the requirements of life?"²

The discussion of these questions at the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments and the conferences of social scientists in the republics, krays and oblasts held following it showed the deep interest of the scholars in the realization of a radical turn of our social sciences to the key problems which life is posing. In the course of the discussion the necessity of a significant advance in the sphere of theory and in the creative comprehension of the new phenomena and processes of life was noted.

At the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it was openly stated that the state and development of theoretical thought and the very atmosphere on the theoretical front in the recent past did not promote the realization of the difficult and contradictory vital problems, perspectives, and trends in the development of society. Lively creative thought and discussion were replaced by bare commentary on the authoritarian assessments and judgements that had taken shape, which were given out to be indisputable truths of the highest instance. And the theoretical conceptions of socialism in many respects remained on the level of the 1930's and 1940's.³

The development of the social sciences up to now does not meet the requirements of social practice. Frequently they not only do not take the lead, but fail to realize the new realities of our life and even fail to address these realities.

Frequently the profound analysis of events is replaced by their description, and serious theoretical generalizations--by citations to authoritative sources and general arguments.

In all social sciences a reduction of the interest in fundamental theoretical problems has taken place. This also pertains fully to the science of party history. At the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments, serious concern was expressed, which is called forth by the present state of research on party history, where the history of the party "is frequently transformed into a dry scheme, many books and articles. . . are written in language that is not very expressive and therefore they do not find a broad readership."⁴

The party considers thorough realization and creative use of the experience of the social development of the country as one of the most important conditions of the successful implementation of its revolutionary-transforming activity. In other words, the analysis of the historical experience accumulated by the Leninist party and the necessity of its mobilization in the interest of solving the present-day tasks are, to an increasing degree, becoming a general party matter. And the scientific institutions engaged in the elaboration of the urgent problems of party history, first of all, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee, which, above all, bears responsibility for the state of affairs in the science of party history, and its branches, as well as the departments of party history of the VUZ's and every investigator, are called upon to realize the full significance of their responsibility for its successful implementation.

I would like to dwell on one of the problems. The history of the party of Lenin is the life of selfless fighters for bright ideals, models of the most outstanding mass heroism of communists, and self-sacrifice for the sake of the future. This history is needed by the present-day generation of people not only as history proper, but also as historical experience necessary for present-day life, for the extraction of lessons from the past.

Meanwhile, for years an atmosphere of opportunism [konyunkturshchina] and unsightly, coarse glossing over the truth was created. The depersonalization of historical events, the mastication of the pages of history, boring and expressionless language--this is what became characteristic of many studies.

The history of the party cannot be without concrete people, it must be satiated with their fates. "It is necessary," M. S. Gorbachev said at the meeting with the managers of the mass media in the CPSU Central Committee, "to educate people on the example of those who have laid down their lives for the revolution and socialism."⁵ In their destinies are both victories and defeats, but, the main thing--an indomitable movement forward, the steps of discoverers. If we ponder deeply and seriously, then the party of Lenin played its profoundly creative role also in the fate of every Soviet person now alive.

Let such figures of the party as Ya. M. Sverdlov, F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, M. I. Kalinin, L. B. Krasin, G. V. Chicherin, S. M. Kirov, A. V. Lunacharskiy, and many, many others appear in all the greatness of the revolutionary spirit before the contemporaries! We must steadfastly overcome "the

figure of suppression" also in relation to those who, not having endured the trials of the time, stood in the path of the party. Does, for example, the fact that they overcame the most intelligent, resourceful and keen political opponents, and not simply primitive and stupid rascals, perhaps, not ennoble Lenin and the Bolsheviks?!

In the new conditions of the lessons of truth, openness, the development of criticism and self-criticism, it is necessary, in speaking about the glorious, heroic pages of history, to talk honestly also about the bitter lessons, delusions, and errors. Without such an approach, there is no principle of historical method in history, there is the sugar pill of pseudohistory. Now it already no longer convinces anyone, the mass of people have matured for confidential truth and are able to realize it. The party is standing at the head of a radical turning-point. The most acute struggle for the restructuring is going on. The place of scholars and historians is in the very midst of those who are creating and making history every day. Their duty is to join more actively in the study of the problems of the restructuring of party work on the example of living, rough reality.

The party sets the task of increasing the educational role of the science of party history and of making full use of its constantly growing potential in the interests of solving one of the key problems--the activization of the human factor. Its solution--if one is to look at this matter with the high measure of the demands of the time--is unthinkable without the formation of a high political culture in people. And the ability to find in the treasure-house of the historical experience of the party what meets the needs of today and to determine ways of making creative use of this experience.

I would like once again to recall the words of M. S. Gorbachev, spoken not long ago at the meeting with the managers of the mass media, about the fact that "history must be seen as it is. There has been everything, there were mistakes--and serious ones, but the country went forward. Take the years of industrialization or collectivization. This is life and reality. This is the destiny of a people with all contradictions: With both achievements and mistakes."⁶ But the party lived and walked at the head of socialist construction.

Hence the dual task before the historians of the party. First of all, to strengthen the critical-analytical aspect of research, so as to equip the party with a complete conception of the really most valuable, which includes its historical experience. Moreover, this pertains to all phases of its history, including to those which, because of at times objective, but more often subjective reasons and considerations of an opportunist character, have recently proved to be outside the field of vision of the researchers. Secondly, a considerable role can be played by historians of the party in seeing to it that the party is armed with scientifically substantiated and constructive recommendations about the ways of the most effective use of its historical experience. And in this connection, research on the various aspects of the activity of the party at crucial stages of the development of Soviet society seems especially urgent.

The restructuring of the activity of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee has begun. This will make it possible to take effective

for the radical improvement of the state of affairs in the science of party history. As the scientific-theoretical institution of the party, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism must more intensively enrich its theoretical arsenal and, on the basis of the comprehensive understanding of the ideological heritage of the founders of scientific communism, conduct a thorough study of the new processes and phenomena of social practice.

The conduct of thorough research on party history requires an expansion of the source base and the access of the researchers to documents of party and state archives. Illegal limitations in this matter led to the fact that many of them lost interest in the search and study of documents and primary sources. For example, in the Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism the number of researchers turning to the documentary base decreased by more than half during the past 10 years.

The restructuring of the social sciences and the requirements of the study of the most important problems, processes and regularities of the development of Soviet society require the unification of the efforts of scholars and social scientists of various fields, the overcoming of reserve within the limits of a certain science, and the preparation of a number of studies, both of a fundamental as well as an applied character, at the junction of various sciences. The 27th CPSU Congress and the January Central Committee Plenum raised quite a few new and acute problems, which for a long time were not given the proper attention by social scientists. What, for example, are ways of the consistent realization of the principles of social justice and admissible scales of differentiation in the assessment of labor contribution taking these principles into account? What influence on social relations does the practice of the more efficient and rational use of work time and leisure time have? What are the basic characteristics of the socialist conception of prosperity and the socialist way of life and how, from this point of view, should more rational use of social resources be made? In the investigation of these and many other problems, the historians of the party, together with representatives of other social sciences, are called upon to take a most active part.

There are blank spots in the investigation of the problems of socialist democracy and the election system. One of the urgent tasks of scholars and social scientists is to focus their efforts on the investigation of the principles and the mechanism of self-management [samoupravleniye] of the people and of questions of the democratization of management.

For a long time, subjectivist extraneous features exerted influence on the development of theoretical questions of socialist self-management. As a result, conceptions were disseminated according to which ideas of socialist self-management were supposedly incompatible with Marxism and their realization inflicts harm on the interests of the systematic development of the socialist economy, and leads to anarchy and decentralization in the system of state management.

The disregard of the ideas of socialist self-management, which has taken place for a long time, has had a negative effect on the solution of many questions of the development of socialist democracy, the economic mechanism, and the involvement of the broad masses of workers in direct participation in the

management of state and social affairs. This led also to the false interpretation of the question concerning the role of the individual and the popular masses and was conducive to the formation of a certain psychology, at the basis of which are passivity, a lack of creative beginnings, and democracy for the sake of form. And hence also the habit in many workers not to take responsibility for themselves in the solution of these or those questions, to wait for guiding instructions apropos of anything. People lost the aspiration to suffer for the cause, to search for reserves, and to strive for the achievement of the highest indicators in work.

And it is not accidental that many executives have proved to be unable to revise their activity in conformity with the new requirements. For this reason, along with others, cases of a passive attitude and also direct opposition to the policy of restructuring are called forth and take place.

The conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum with respect to the questions of socialist self-management have provided reliable guiding lines in the elaboration of these problems. And the question is now to see to it that their thorough and high-quality investigation is secured.

Large tasks stand before the investigators studying the problems of national relations. The present-day dynamic development of our society cannot but give rise to new problems in this sphere. Meanwhile, as was noted at the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "instead of objective research on real phenomena in the sphere of national relations and the analysis of actual socioeconomic and spiritual processes--very complex and contradictory in their essence--some of our social scientists for a long time preferred to create treatises of an 'in honor of' character, which at times were more reminiscent of starry-eyed toasts than serious scientific research."⁷ In the studies of recent years, the statement of the successes attained in the sphere of national relations predominated, the trends of their development were studied superficially, and shortcomings and negative phenomena were explained superficially only by the remnants of the past. There have been no broad discussions of the theoretical problems of national relations in the pages of our social science journals since the end of the 1960's.

At the same time, a number of problems of the present-day stage of development of national relations remains outside the field of vision of the scholars. One of them is the role of the nationality policy of the party in guaranteeing the harmonious combination of economic interests of the entire state and the individual republics and regions. Serious study of the nationality aspects of the use of manpower resources, the problems of their reproduction and migration, is necessary.

Frequently scholars avoid many, at times complex problems connected with the dynamics of the social structure of individual nations and nationalities and the directing influence of the party on the processes of its change. No research is being done as applied to the sphere of national relations and the problem of the cadre policy of the CPSU in the present-day stage.

As before, in some union and autonomous republics, the problem of the study of the Russian language--the language of international intercourse--is serious. Outwardly high indicators of the knowledge of the Russian language among many peoples of the USSR conceal the at times insufficiently fluent command of it, not only by the graduates of secondary schools, but also frequently by specialists with higher education. What is more, many problems of the life of a language, connected, in particular, with the correlation of the functions of the Russian and other languages, are also in need of thorough study. The psychological aspects of nationality problems, including on the level of interpersonal relations, also require elaboration.

There is also a sufficient number of other immediate problems, for the solution of which the scholars and social scientists are called upon to concentrate their efforts. At present it is necessary to overcome elements of stagnation of scientific thought and dogmatism, and to direct attention to the theoretical-methodological questions of the development of the social sciences. The party is calling for competition of ideas and directions in science and for fruitful discussions. We are talking about the elaboration of scientific thought on the basis of alternative approaches, conceptions, and tolerance of another opinion. Without this, there is no creativity, there is no democracy.

After the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments, the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee, the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the Academy of the Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee analyzed the state of affairs in philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, and the science of party history, and outlined a complex of measures aimed at the qualitative improvement of scientific research and a radical turn towards practice. In December 1986, these problems were discussed at the conference of social scientists of the academic institutions of the country.

The new tasks set before the social sciences require a new approach to the coordination of scientific research work.

The departmental disconnectedness, the absence of unified state planning, legal foundations and economic levers in social science research led to the dissipation of scientific forces, parallelism and duplication in the subject matter of research, and to lack of control with respect to the quality of the elaborations.

The subject matter of candidate and doctoral dissertations has frequently been formulated and is being formulated, not from the requirements of practice, but in accordance with criteria of "dissertationability" [dissertabelnost] that have a formal character. In especially poor shape is the organization of interdisciplinary research, which is called upon to combine the efforts of the specialists of various directions in the elaboration of complex problems of social development.

Recently steps have been taken to improve the planning and coordination of research. The USSR Academy of Sciences, in the future, too, will remain the

head organ for the coordination of social science research in the country; its rights and obligations in this sphere are expanding.

The departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences are becoming the leading scientific-methodological and scientific-organizational centers for the coordination of scientific research, which will define the plans of coordination activity and control their execution. The councils for the coordination of scientific activity of the departments have the responsibility for the development and coordination of scientific research being conducted in the academic institutions and VUZ's and the management of the work of the scientific institutions in this sphere. The solution of the questions connected with securing the integration of natural, technical and social sciences will be effected by the Council for the Coordination of the Scientific Activity of the Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics at the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In particular, already today it is clear that, in the organization of the work of the interdepartmental scientific-technical complexes, the scientific production associations, and in the process of development of other forms of integration of science and production, it is necessary to involve specialists in the sphere of the social sciences. One of the directions of their work is the examination of the socio-economic aspects of the realization of large scientific-technical projects in the conduct of their expert examination.

Many institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences are introducing into practice the creation of temporary scientific collectives of scholars for the working out of the fundamental problems of the development of the social sciences. In so doing, the potential of the central and peripheral scientific institutions and institutions of higher education is combined.

At the present time, the USSR Academy of Sciences, with the participation of interested ministries and departments, is leading the formation of goal-oriented integrated programs of research on the most urgent problems of the perfection of socialism in the USSR and of social development in the world.

The creation of the system of union goal-oriented integrated programs as a social order must be supplemented by republic, regional, oblast, and industrial programs. These programs will be subordinated to the solution of urgent theoretical and practical problems. In the orders, which the party, soviet, and economic organs at the center and in the provinces are called upon to actively form, it is expedient to define the final goals of research, the forms of acceptance of the completed studies, and the deadlines for their introduction into practice. Similar experience is available in Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, and the BSSR.

Some experience with the organization of the elaboration of such programs is available in the UkSSR. Here, with the active support of the party organs, a republic Integrated Program of Scientific Research on Urgent Questions of Communist Education, six inter-VUZ programs on key problems of the social sciences, and a number of oblast scientific research programs of social science profile were formed.

However, unfortunately, the social order has not yet become the norm of the

of the activity of scientific collectives and clients and consumers, which party, soviet, economic organs and public organizations are called upon to become. Not thoroughly worked out are the questions concerning the procedure for the realization of the conclusions and suggestions of social scientists and the taking of the research results to the customers. Neither the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology nor the USSR Academy of Sciences has pronounced on this.

The overcoming of the various types of shortcomings in the organization of scientific research is inseparably connected with the necessity of a broader task--the realization of the restructuring of the work of scientific institutions in accordance with the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress.

A critical revision of the plans of work of the scientific research institutions for the 12th Five-Year Plan made it possible to exclude more than 200 subjects from the plans in the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences alone--subjects which have lost their topicality. The collectives of the academic institutes of social science profile are restructuring the subject matter of scientific research in a fundamental way.

In the long-term plans for publications on philosophy and scientific communism, there is a series of studies in the sphere of study of the problems of the human factor, ethics, moral responsibility, and the formation of the new thinking. The Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the Complex Problem of the Study of Man has begun work. The Philosophical Society of the USSR, headed by the corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, I. T. Frolov, and the Soviet Sociological Society, headed by Academician T. I. Zaslavskaya, are livening up their activity.

Scholars and economists are conducting research on questions of the transfer of the economy to the intensive path of development, the improvement of management, the economic mechanism as a whole, the connection of science with production, collective forms of labor organization and material interest, self-financing, and full economic accountability. The Department of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences is working on the creation of a scientific conception of an integral system of the management of the national economy. In the recent past, a number of popular scientific studies on the problems of accelerating social and economic development have appeared.

Being completed is the elaboration of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of the Country to the Year 2010, which will give scientific substantiation of the economic and social requirements for the development of science and technology, the latest manufacturing methods, and will determine ways of achieving the world level in the most important sectors of the national economy.

A great deal will also have to be done so as to secure the effective use of the scientific potential of the VUZ social science departments. Successes in this sphere are conditioned in many respects by the level of integration of VUZ and Academy science and by the development of a network of social science scientific subdivisions of the higher school.

The restructuring of social science is connected with the necessity of increasing exactingness toward the quality of the publications of scientific studies, as well as a constant critical assessment of what has been done. It is no secret that criticism in the social sciences does not yet play the constructive role which it already successfully fulfills in the practice of the social life of the country. The situation here is being improved very slowly. This is why the appeal which resounded at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "Openness, criticism, and self-criticism are simply necessary for us"⁸ is so topical.

The low level of scientific criticism was conditioned in part by the fact that at the sessions of the academic councils, scientific conferences, and in the pages of the periodical press, few discussions and creative disputes have taken place. In the journal VOPROSY ISTORII, for example, there have practically not been any scientific discussions of topical questions for the past 10 years. What is more, those that did take place frequently turned out to be incomplete, conclusions and recommendations based on their results were not formulated. Such a situation with respect to criticism in the sphere of the social sciences requires radical restructuring. What we need is great courage and resoluteness in the formulation of scientific criticism.

* * *

Life requires a critical assessment of the state of the teaching of social sciences in the VUZ's as well. As M. S. Gorbachev said at the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments, "the most interesting and fascinating in present-day scientific knowledge--man and society, the laws of their development, contradiction, class struggle, the construction of the new world, the trend of mankind toward the ideal, spiritual searches and disappointments, the finding of truth and the heroism of labor creation are frequently transformed, in lectures and, what is more, in textbooks, into something boring, trite, and formal."⁹ Cramming, reliance on elementary newspaper-level commentary, and a sort of service of facts have become almost the norm in the teaching of social science.

Independence of thought, creativity, the reasoning out of problems on one's own, and the working out of one's own approaches--this is what is lacking in teaching. And can conviction and firm belief really be made up of the adoption of common truths and studied formulas? Is it possible in this way to bring up a real fighter and bearer of the most humane ideology?

The Marxist-Leninist world view must be mature as the result of independent work and must be comprehended and thought out by the individual himself. V. I. Lenin said: "If a communist would take it into his head to brag about communism on the basis of the ready conclusions received by him, not carrying out the most serious, most difficult and great work, not trying to comprehend the facts which he is obliged to treat critically, such a communist would be very sad. And such superficiality would be most decidedly disastrous."¹⁰

In the conditions of the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of social life in the country, the party is conducting a struggle also to see to it that the process of education and training of young people is shaped in a new way.

What is at present the level of the teaching of social sciences in the higher school, what are the trends here, what is causing concern? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to turn to the public opinion of the students, i. e., the very object of influence.

In the course of the preparation for the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences conducted a survey of almost 2,000 students of 16 VUZ's in Moscow, Riga, Frunze, Alma-Ata, Arkhangelsk, Irkutsk, Sverdlovsk, Kharkov, and Vladivostok. The task was set to elicit the attitude of the students to the restructuring that is going on in the country and to the study of the social sciences, and to assess, as far as possible, the quality of the teaching of social science and its effectiveness in various aspects.

The overwhelming majority of the students unconditionally supported the policy of restructuring, 80 percent of those surveyed know concrete cases of restructuring in the life of the labor collectives and in society as a whole. More than 60 percent noted the important role of the social sciences in this revolutionary process. But here is what else the research showed. Only one-fifth of the information about the restructuring reached the students from lectures and seminar studies on the social sciences. Less than 40 percent of those who replied to the questions consider their personal participation in the process of the restructuring possible. Half of those surveyed did not yet have a definite directive for such participation.

Here is a clear deficiency of the social scientists, an indication of their isolation from the processes of life and their inability to link theory with the practice of daily human activity. This is all the more disturbing in the conditions of the restructuring of higher education in the country itself, when the entire society discussed the conception of this restructuring. One of the most serious conclusions to which the data of the survey lead and which in principle is not new is the conclusion concerning the fact that the progress of the students is in many respects a formal indicator of the effectiveness of the academic-educational process and the real attitude of the students to the social sciences.

With 80 percent of those surveyed, the average assessment for the social sciences on the basis of the results of the last session was over 4.0. At the same time, only 25 percent regularly speak at the seminars; 31 percent take part in the competition of student studies in social science, 21 percent of the students read additional literature.

Moreover, a certain part of those being trained in the VUZ's in general does not see any sense in the study of the social disciplines and considers that the knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory is not mandatory for the specialist. It goes without saying, the reason is not only in the quality of teaching. Here there is a great deal from the outlived past, when the facts of real life diverged from the treatment of theoretical positions on present-day socialism and the word was not reinforced by the deed, which sharply reduced the interest in the social sciences as well. There were, of course, also other reasons, especially of a subjective persuasion. One thing is clear now. The steady

negative attitude of part of the students to the basic forms of the study of the social sciences is a most serious loss and a lesson for the social scientists. And not only for them, but also for all teachers of the higher school. For an increase in the quality of the philosophical preparation of the students can be attained only through the joint efforts of the general science, specialized and social science departments of the VUZ's.

The students, on the whole, expressed themselves rather critically about the authority of the social science teachers in the VUZ, their professional knowledge is rated by the students one third as high as the same qualities of the teachers of the specializing disciplines.

The research showed that the VUZ graduates have an incomplete, fragmentary conception of the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism recommended by the program and experience serious difficulties in the application of their social science knowledge in daily practical activity. And this is not an accidental phenomenon. In the study of the social sciences, poor use is being made of the forms and methods of the active mastery of the know-how and the habits of the practical application of Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology.

In practice, a certain part of the students manifests political infantilism and immaturity. Especially disturbing is the fact that a part of the young people in the VUZ's is infected with the bourgeois psychology of consumerism, that in the conduct of their educators a discord between word and deed is present.

The research revealed an absolutely rigid link in the attitude of the students to the social sciences with the quality of their teaching. It would seem that in these results of a small investigation of the public opinion of students large problems of the formation of social science and humanistic culture of the students and problems of the restructuring of social science as a whole are illuminated.

More effective use should be made of the educational potential of the social sciences in the matter of the formation, in young people, of patriotic and internationalist convictions. This work is frequently not given the proper attention. The study of the corresponding divisions of the social science disciplines is frequently organized in a formal and dry manner, in isolation from the real processes taking place in inter-nationality relations. Poor use is being made, in particular in the study of the course on the history of the CPSU, of the tradition of the joint revolutionary struggle of the peoples of our country and their creative activity in socialist and communist construction. And the main thing--questions of the dialectics of the national and international do not always occupy the necessary place in the opening up of many subjects in the course of lectures and seminar studies.

As a result, distorted ideas about the correlation of national and international interests, as well as the exaggeration of the role of the incorrectly understood national interests to the detriment of the international interest are at times formed among the future specialists. Attention to these questions should be increased all the more so because sometimes the bearers of negative phenomena attempt to present the struggle with these phenomena in a number of republics as an encroachment on national interests and national customs.

The work of the departments of social sciences, as well as of the higher school as a whole, today must be assessed in accordance with the final result --the quality of the preparation of specialists, their ideological-theoretical level, and their ability to perceive and put into effect the party line. And for this it is necessary to secure an organic connection of the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory and the historical experience of the party with the real vital processes that are taking place in the country and in the world, with the fulfillment of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress. In the academic process this means the examination of every key question of a lecture or seminar from the point of view of elucidating its significance and place in the system of present-day tasks of accelerating the social and economic development of the country. It is important to bring the process of teaching as quickly as possible into conformity with the directive of the congress to the effect that "a responsible analysis of the past clears the path to the future, but a half-truth, which bashfully avoids the sharp corners, slows down the development of a realistic policy and hinders our movement forward."¹¹ In so doing, it is important to attain the mastery, by the students, of Marxism-Leninism as an integral doctrine in the organic unity of its component parts.

The steps taken recently serve such a formulation of the matter. New programs in regard to the history of the CPSU, philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism have been prepared. They were discussed in detail at the conference of the chiefs of social science departments. About 4,000 observations and suggestions were expressed with respect to them. Commissions, whose composition included outstanding social scientists, examined them and introduced necessary corrections. These programs are in operation as of the second semester of the 1986/1987 academic year. A single state examination in Marxism-Leninism is also being introduced.

The question of the creation of a new generation of textbooks in the social sciences has become urgent. The present textbooks have become obsolete, have fallen behind the present-day level of the development of scientific knowledge and have preserved old methods and schemes of instruction. The new textbooks must be characterized by the scientific-methodological development which orients students toward the independent study of primary sources, toward linking the material being studied with the achievements of science and social practice, and toward being able to conduct well-argued criticism of bourgeois ideology and revisionism. Not long ago, a competition for the creation of new textbooks for VUZ students in philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism was concluded. It did not produce the desired results, although a number of manuscripts were awarded third prizes and incentive prizes. Thus, a third prize was awarded to a manuscript on Marxist-Leninist philosophy (author --A. G. Spirkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences), and a manuscript on scientific communism (composite body of authors under the direction of Professor Ye. A. Anufriyev).

Three manuscripts on philosophy, three--on political economy, and two--on scientific communism received incentive prizes.

Among the authors are scholars of Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Saratov, and Slavyansk of Donetsk Oblast.

Joint authors, with the participation of the scholars whose manuscripts received a positive assessment as the result of the competition, continue their work on new textbooks on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, scientific communism, and political economy. It is planned to complete this work in 1988 and to provide the higher school with new textbooks beginning with the 1988/89 academic year. It is proposed to hold a competition for the creation of a VUZ textbook on the history of the CPSU. In the new textbooks, scholasticism and the thoughtless repetition of abstract truths where the creative application of scientific knowledge is required must be excluded.

Stereotypes that have developed in the teaching of the social sciences are broken with difficulty. The inclination to search for prescriptions valid for all occasions of life is born of scholasticism and the bureaucratization of the academic process. For example, in a large number of VUZ's, to this day, they give as the latest achievements of the methodology of teaching the detailed assignments by minutes, what or when it is necessary to talk in the lecture or in the seminar. One still encounters bureaucratic undertakings of the type of the creation of process charts, formalized diagrams and cumbersome educational and methodological complexes, which divert teachers from lively work with students and burden them with a mass of reports and references. Many teachers, speaking at conferences of social scientists, have complained about the practice of constant distraction from the teaching and educational process to countless conferences and meetings. It is necessary to get rid of this more quickly.

As the sociological research in VUZ's of the Ukraine showed, more than 80 percent of the seminar studies, according to estimates of the students themselves, are conducted in accordance with the traditional scheme: The question of the teacher--the reading, by students, of the answer from the pages of the summary, frequently taken "on hire" from a comrade.

For the development of the initiative and creativity of the collectives of the social science departments, changes in the organization of the educational process in the social science departments have been introduced by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. VUZ's have been granted the right to change the correlation of lectures and seminar studies in the process of the study of the socio-political disciplines, to reduce the number of lectures, and through this to introduce special courses on the more urgent problems of the social sciences. These special courses, the students attend by choice. All possibilities for the giving of problem-oriented courses of lectures and the development of creativity in the conduct of seminar studies have been created for the departments. It is being recommended to expand the independent work of students for the study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The increase of the quality of the teaching of the social sciences will be promoted by the formation and realization of the goal-oriented integrated program "The Teaching of Social Sciences in the VUZ's" of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

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The demands formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum with respect to questions of cadre policy and the assessment

of its role in the solution of the cardinal problems of the acceleration of social and economic development, the revolutionary renewal of the country, pertain fully also to the sphere of the social sciences.

In his letter to the students of the Capri school, Lenin wrote: "In any school, the most important thing is the ideological-political orientation of the lectures. By what is this orientation determined? Entirely and exclusively by the composition of the lecturers. . . . No control and no programs of any kind, etc., are at all able to change this orientation of studies, which is determined by the composition of the lecturers."¹²

In the final analysis, the contribution of the social sciences to the realization of the strategic course of the party is determined by the level of the ideological-theoretical training of the cadres, by their qualification and competence, by the degree to which a feeling of the new, boldness of thinking, and an innovational approach to their business is inherent in them. And one of the main directions of party guidance of the development of the social sciences is work with the cadres of the social scientists. The party committees are called upon to increase today their attention to the questions of the training of social scientists and the effective use of their creative potential with regard to the present-day requirements.

The country now numbers 40,600 social scientists, who are working in scientific institutions and institutions of higher education, including 23,800 candidates and 2,300 doctors of science.¹³ As in many spheres of the life of the country, in science the radical renewal of cadres serves as one of the effective means of restructuring. But it is a well-known fact that the training of cadres with the highest qualifications requires a lengthy period of time. For this reason, in science, including in social science, we should study more energetically the most efficient use of the existing cadre potential.

How are the cadres of social science scholars distributed now? More than 85 percent of them are concentrated in the institutions of higher education, but the share of doctors and even candidates of science working in the VUZ's is significantly lower than this indicator. As a result, only one-third of the social science departments of VUZ's are headed by doctors of science, which has a negative effect both on the state of the educational process and on the organization of scientific research activity of the social science collectives of the VUZ's.

Only 3-4 percent of the social scientists are working in the sphere of management and in the national economy. This cannot be acknowledged as normal. The replenishment of the state and economic management and the production sphere with trained specialists capable of analyzing the most important social and economic processes meets the urgent requirements of the time. One of the promising forms of the application of the efforts of social scientists is sociological and socio-psychological services in enterprises, the formation of which is proceeding too slowly.

There are also problems which pertain to the distribution of scientific manpower of higher qualification, especially doctors of science, by regions of the country. For example, in the Eastern regions of the country, in 1985, the

share of doctors of science who were social scientists constituted 6.7 percent of their total number, although the corresponding share of students came to 18 percent.

Taking into account the growing role and significance of the Urals, Siberia, and the Far East in the solution of the multifaceted economic and social tasks, the party raises the question about seeing to it that the VUZ's and scientific institutions of the indicated regions are significantly strengthened with qualified cadres in the social sciences. This will also serve the decision concerning the creation of Urals and Far East departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was taken not long ago.

One of the most acute and painful problems in social science is the training of scientific replacement. It must be stated with bitterness that very often the party organs of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the higher school have not engaged seriously in the study of the cadre problems in social science, have not taken into account the dynamics of the processes taking place here, and have been unable to develop a strategy in the training of scientific cadres. Meanwhile, the difficulty of the unresolved problems increased, which led to significant defects in this important matter.

For many years, the share of the social scientists in the composition of scientific cadres has remained stable. And although during 1981-1985 the number of doctors and candidates of science increased by 16 percent, the proportion of specialists with higher qualification in the social sciences among scholars of the corresponding specialty was lower than in many other sciences. And what is especially disturbing--the number of candidates of science in social science is growing more slowly than in other fields of science, not to speak of the quality of dissertations.

Meanwhile a process of aging of scientific cadres is observed. For example, for a number of years, no one among the scholars younger than 30 defended a doctoral dissertation. And the cadres in the social sciences have not become an exception. Moreover, if for the country as a whole about 76 percent of the doctors of sciences are over 50 years of age, among historians of science this indicator is 92.5 percent, among specialists in political economy and the theory of scientific communism--89 percent, and for dialectical and historical materialism--87 percent.

At the same time, according to data of the last survey conducted by the USSR Central Statistical Administration, there was not a single doctor of science under 40 years of age in the specialties of "political economy" and the "theory of scientific communism", among party historians their share came to 0.2 percent, and among philosophers--0.5 percent. The conclusion hence is simple: The continuity in the process of the training of scientific cadres and the optimal combination of experienced and young scholars has been broken. In essence, the tradition has been broken in accordance with which leading scholars have their own schools and train their own replacement. The administrators of science the state organs and the party committees were unable to assess these processes and to take timely measures. At the present time, the policy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and other departments in this matter is undergoing serious changes.

It is impossible not to speak also about the following problem. The ideological-theoretical and professional level of the teacher and social scientist, to a significant degree, is determined by the presence of a base university education and special training. Formally the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has always advanced such a requirement.

Meanwhile among teachers of social science departments, who do not have academic degrees and ranks, 13 percent are working who are physicists and mechanical engineers, builders and agronomists, chemists and biologists. In the VUZ's of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and Turkmenistan they number already from 35 to 46 percent. Still higher is the proportion of those teachers in the VUZ's of the system of the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, and the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives. Among this category, too, there may be good teachers. But, you see, not a single rector admitted to the teaching of mathematics, let us say, a philologist or historian, but the teaching of the social science disciplines by people who do not have special training, for some reason, is considered in the order of things. At the same time there exists the problem of finding jobs for young social scientists and university graduates. Even at Moscow State University, only one-fourth of them are distributed to the VUZ's on the basis of their specialty. The executives of the ministries and departments have not turned the requisite attention to such phenomena.

Unfortunately, even the party committees at the local level were not able to pursue a principled policy to strengthen the cadre composition of the social scientists. This is one of the significant reasons for the lowering of the ideological-theoretical level of teaching. And the main thing--this lowers the prestige of the social science disciplines itself in the eyes of the students and a light-weight conception of the possibility of the mastery of these disciplines is created. In the recent past, certain measures have been taken in regard to the improvement of the system of the training of social science cadres. Thus, at a number of universities, departments of the history of the CPSU have been created and the training of specialist in applied sociology has begun. New rules have been introduced for the admission to the social science specialty. In particular, the admission of students for a number of specialties has begun to be carried out on the basis of recommendations of the party organs. There has been an increase in the party stratum, as well as the share of persons with production service among those enrolled in the first course.

The training of young specialists in the social sciences is concentrated in 14 leading universities of the country. The first graduation of specialists trained in accordance with the new curricula will take place in 1988. The measures being taken will make it possible to secure the improvement of the quality composition of the scientific-pedagogical cadres of social scientists and will be conducive to a more optimal combination of young and experienced specialists and to the solution of the questions of continuity in their training. It goes without saying, all of this requires from the party committees the careful study of candidacies being recommended for enrollment in the social science specialty. We are talking about the necessity of understanding the fact that questions of the formation of the reserve of ideological cadres are being decided, to whom a leading role in the system of the educational work of the party will belong in the future. And any sort of elements of a formal approach are inadmissible here.

One of the urgent tasks today is to increase attention to the training of specialists of the highest qualifications in the social sciences. In examining, in January 1987, questions connected with the realization of the restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee underscored that the improvement of the selection and placement, and the improvement in the qualifications of scientific-pedagogical and scientific cadres will become a decisive condition for increasing the effectiveness of training and education. All of this dictates the necessity of getting rid of commonplaces and stereotypes in the training of social science cadres and of searching creatively for the path of its steady improvement.

The formation of the social science scholar is unthinkable without his study of the great volume of primary sources and the mastery of the skills of the practical analysis of data about the social and economic processes that are taking place. For the formation of the scholar--both the doctor and the candidate of science--the conditions of creative search, criticism and self-criticism in the department or in the scientific subdivision are of especially great importance. Unfortunately, in many collectives they do not promote the formation of scholars with thorough general theoretical training. The absence, at the local level, of the possibility of the constant discussion of questions that arise and of regular contacts with highly-qualified colleagues inhibits the scientific growth of researchers and teachers and causes their formation as narrow specialists, who are not in full command of the methodology of scientific knowledge. It is illegitimate that in many VUZ's they regard scientific activity as something secondary. The overcoming of such an approach must serve not only the effective use of the entire creative potential of the social scientists, but also the active involvement of young specialists in scientific activity.

In the training of cadres of the highest qualification in the social sciences, an important role is played by post-graduate study, where at present more than 4,000 people are studying. However, post-graduate study is far from meeting fully the requirements which were formulated in the resolution "On the Further Development of the System of Improving the Qualifications of Social Science Teachers of Institutions of Higher Education", adopted by the CPSU Central Committee in 1982. In it was noted the necessity of the uniform staffing of the departments with highly-qualified specialists, the organization of goal-oriented training of cadres for VUZ's experiencing shortages in cadres of the highest qualification, and the increase of the level of scientific-theoretical and methodological preparation of the post-graduate students.

Above all, the concentration of the training of specialists in the leading VUZ's is not safeguarded. Instead of the attraction, to the universities, of the best qualified scholars as research supervisor of post-graduate students, the ministries and departments often prefer the organization of the training of specialists in small contingents in polytechnical, technological and other institutes. And if about 70 percent of the post-graduate students are being trained in 14 universities, the remaining ones are dispersed over 120 VUZ's of various specialization.

This is one of the reasons why far from invariably is the requisite level of research supervision of the work of post-graduate students

attained, or the choice, by them, of topical subjects in the scientific and practical respect. Dissertations are poorly oriented at the development of theoretical and methodological questions and are insufficiently related to the requirements of the generalization of the historical experience of the CPSU, real socialism, the solution of the tasks of the acceleration of the social and economic development of the country, and the ideological struggle in the world arena. The effectiveness of the certification of post-graduate students as a form of control over their work is still low. Often it is of a formal character. The conclusions of the research supervisors, as a rule, do not contain critical observations and constructive recommendations.

And as the consequence of shortcomings in the organization of the training of post-graduate students, less than one-third of them defend their dissertation during the post-graduate period.

After the 27th CPSU Congress, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the USSR Higher Certification Commission developed plans for the improvement of the activity of post-graduate study, and measures are being taken by the interested ministries and departments with respect to strengthening coordination in the sphere of the training of cadres in social science and the conduct of a more purposeful cadre policy in scientific institutions and higher educational institutions. Plans call for the organization of the training of doctors of science (doctoral study) in the social sciences, too, on the basis of the leading scientific institutions and the institutions of higher education. This, undoubtedly, will be conducive to the increase of the ideological-theoretical level of specialists and will make it possible to speed up the flow of fresh forces into science and to solve the question of the uniform supply of the various VUZ's and regions of the country with cadres of the highest qualification.

The certification of scientific and scientific-pedagogical cadres, which in many cases still bears a formal character, for the time being does not justify its predestination and is in need of serious improvement. Its goal is to attach the most competent and most creative workers in the scientific and pedagogical collectives.

Radical change is required by the entire system of training and improvement of qualifications of the social science teachers. It is important to be concerned about the growth of the ideological-theoretical and intellectual level of the teachers and to increase attention to questions of their moral character.

The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, which at present is working on the principles of the restructuring of the activity of the institutes for the improvement of qualifications of social science teachers, must listen to the voices from the local level concerning the necessity of improving the programs in these institutes, concerning the inadmissibility of a scholastic approach to students, and concerning how to secure a realistic outlet to practice of training on the example of the best teachers. A number of other problems will also have to be solved.

In the matter of the training of cadres in social science, a search for new forms of work is necessary, which would guarantee the organic combination of

thorough mastery of theoretical knowledge with the acquisition of the skills of experimental research and the processing of its results. In the course of training, constant practical training periods in the planning and economic and ideological organizations should be practiced in accordance with the example of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee. It is also expedient to involve doctoral students and post-graduate students in the conduct of economic and social experiments of an all-union and regional character. The question also arises about how to secure the increase of their computer literacy and the utilization of electronic computers in teaching and research.

The success of the restructuring of the social sciences as a whole depends to a decisive degree on how persistently and purposefully the party committees will attain the strengthening of the personnel composition of the social scientists and the creation of an atmosphere of exactingness and persistence, efficiency and self-sacrifice, on how effectively they carry out the right of control of the activity of the administration.

One can speak of the developed system of party guidance of the social science departments in the Ukraine, Belorussia, in the Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Chelyabinsk, and other oblasts of the Russian Federation. It includes the determination of prospects of the work of the departments on the basis of the study, generalization and dissemination of the experience of their activity; purposeful work with the chiefs and teachers of social science departments, the secretaries of party organizations, and the organizers of party groups; the planning of scientific research work on the basis of social orders; regular meetings of the party, soviet and economic executives with teachers; close, creative relations with the labor collectives; the organization of the work of scientific-methods and methodological seminars, the councils of the social science departments, and post-graduate study of teachers in party committees; the conduct of scientific-practical and methods conferences on topical questions of theory and practice.

But there are still many unsolved problems in the work of the party committees with cadres. In the teaching environment, and especially among the chiefs of departments, a change of generations is taking place. The veterans of war and labor, people who have been severely tempered by life, are leaving. Coming to replace them are workers of a new generation, perhaps better trained on the scientific plane, but without political experience and deep knowledge of life. In these conditions, the work of the party committees with the young people, the reserve of department administrators, and teachers acquires especially great importance. The questions of increasing the role of the social sciences in the realization of the policy of acceleration of the socio-economic development of the country require constant attention on the part of the party organs.

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Only some urgent problems of the restructuring of the social sciences have been touched on here. Their realization requires the overcoming of approaches to the organization of scientific research, teaching, and the training of cadres that have become established, but have ceased to meet the requirements of the time. Primary importance is being assigned today to the tasks of increasing the quality of research and the quality of the training of specialists.

The party committees and party organizations of the scientific institutions and VUZ's are called upon to focus paramount attention on their solution. The successful realization of the outlined tasks will, to a certain degree, depend on how much every social scientist is penetrated by the consciousness of their importance and how far he will succeed in finding his place in the struggle for the restructuring. Only in this case can the implementation of the chief slogan of the moment by the social sciences and the social science scholars be guaranteed: To act, to act, and once again to act--energetically, boldly, creatively, and competently--in the name of the revolutionary renewal of society.

NOTES

1. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz" [Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, 1986, pp 84-85.
2. Ibid., p 85.
3. Cf. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 27-28 yanvarya 1987 goda" [Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 27-28 January 1987, pp 7-10.
4. KOMMUNIST, 1986, No 15, p 14.
5. PRAVDA, 14 February 1987.
6. Ibid.
7. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 27-28 yanvarya 1987 goda," p 40.
8. Ibid., p 71.
9. KOMMUNIST, 1986, No 15, p 5.
10. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 305.
11. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz," p 23.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 47, p 194.
13. Meant are the scientific-pedagogical workers in the sphere of the history of the CPSU, dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, and scientific communism.

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PROBLEMS, PARTY ROLE IN FORMING MARXIST-LENINIST OUTLOOK

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 3, Mar 87 (signed to press 27 Feb 87)
pp 20-34

[Article by V. S. Buyanov, candidate of philosophy: "Urgent Problems of the Formation of a Scientific World View in Soviet People"]

[Text] In the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and in the new edition of the Party Program, the formation of a scientific world view stands in first place among the tasks of ideological and educational work. In our country, the communist world view is the nucleus of social consciousness, plays a fundamental role in the process of the cognitive and practical activity, and appears as the dominating element of the spiritual character of Soviet people.

The founders of scientific communism emphasized the exceptional significance of a scientific world view in the life of society and man, in the unity of the working class and its vanguard. Characterizing the party of the proletariat, F. Engels wrote: "Its enormous advantage consisted in the fact that it had a new world view as its theoretical foundation. . . ."1 The thesis concerning the importance of the constant enrichment of the revolutionary system of views and its dissemination among the broadest masses found development in the works of V. I. Lenin, who noted that "we will always propagate a scientific world view."2

A new and large contribution to the development of a scientific world view was made by the 27th CPSU Congress. The propositions and conclusions formulated at this congress significantly enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the foundation of the communist world view. In the materials of the congress, the character and distinctive features of the communist world view and the ways and conditions of its formation are revealed.

Today the activity with respect to the formation of a scientific world view in workers has special significance. When we talk about the unique character of our time, there is no exaggeration here. Are there really in the history of mankind epochs which could be compared with the present one in terms of the dynamism of changes and the rates of social progress? Are analogues really found to those radical changes in production and to the revolutionary discoveries in science, which are taking place now? Has the role of the consciousness of people really ever been so great? It is precisely the singularity and contradiction of the period being experienced, its critical character,

international collisions and global problems of the present which so acutely pose the question of the development of correct views on the surrounding reality and reinforce the role of the world view in the life of society and man.

"The ability to orient oneself in the present complicated, contradictory, but interdependent world," M. S. Gorbachev noted at the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments, "is not a gift of nature. . . . This ability must be taught to future specialists. Indeed, a world view is not only the totality of general knowledge about the world. It is simultaneously also the realized class interests and ideals, legal and moral norms, social priorities and humanist values--everything that determines the choice of conduct of man in life and his responsible attitude to society and to himself."³

In determining the concrete tasks of the formation of a scientific world view in Soviet people, the CPSU proceeds from the fact that our society has entered a new stage--the stage of the systematic and all-round perfection of socialism on the basis of the acceleration of socio-economic development, a stage of qualitative changes in all spheres of social life. The solution of difficult and, in essence, revolutionary tasks is unthinkable without the activation of the human factor, the ideological pivot of which is the communist world view. Reality places the highest demands on the intellectual and volitional qualities of people, on their skills and qualifications, their feeling for the new, their capacity for psychological restructuring, and, finally, on the level of consciousness. "To increase the degree of the maturity of society and to build communism," it is noted in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "means to steadily increase the maturity of consciousness and to enrich the spiritual world of man."⁴

The views of modern people are formed in a period of the unfolding of the scientific-technical revolution with its diverse, far from simple consequences. Thus, the great discoveries following each other at times call forth a radical breaking of many ideas that have become settled. This leads, on the one hand, to the emancipation of thought and is conducive to the liberation of consciousness from paralyzing stereotypes, and, on the other, may give rise to doubts with respect to scientifically-proved, practically confirmed propositions that do not require reconsideration today.

As the concentrated expression of ideas and views of one class or another, the collective [obshchestvennyy] world view is a sphere of the class struggle in the world arena. In the conditions of the "psychological war" unfolded by imperialism, the battle for the minds of people, their world view, their life aspirations, social and spiritual orientation has acquired an exceptionally acute character. This is especially noticeable now, when the preparation for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution has added new tension to the worldwide ideological struggle, and the arguments "for" and "against" socialism and its communist system of views on the past, present, and future of mankind have once again clashed.

We shall note still another important circumstance. The new edition of the Party Program, the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, the decisions of the April (1985) and January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, and other party documents have significantly enriched

Marxist-Leninist theory with new conceptions and conclusions, which are of fundamental significance. The explanation, to every Soviet citizen, of the essence of the innovational directives, developed by the collective creative thought of the party, and the formation of the consciousness of millions of workers in the spirit of the restructuring constitute today the most important task of the ideological [mirovozzrencheskoye] education of the masses.

The Marxist-Leninist world view, above all because of its creative, revolutionary and transforming character, is one of the most effective means in the struggle for the achievement of the goals outlined by the party, in the solution of urgent problems, and in the matter of the perfection of the individual. For this reason, the task of the increasingly fuller and more effective use of its creative potential is set in the party documents.

"Socialism," it is noted in the new edition of the CPSU Program, "has secured the supremacy, in the life of Soviet society, of scientific communism, the basis of which is constituted by Marxism-Leninism as the integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views."⁵ This, of course, does not mean that all questions connected with the development of the spiritual world of people have been solved. Quite a lot will still have to be done in order for correct views to be developed in every Soviet person and in order for his thoughts and deeds to meet the requirements of the time and the character of the tasks being solved.

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The founders of scientific communism for the first time provided a substantiated answer to the question about the general sociological laws which show a decisive influence on the formation and development of the consciousness and world view of man. K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin, with all definiteness, demonstrated that man is formed by the entire environment, that in his significant features, including in his world view, the whole range of social relations--material and spiritual--is reflected. Their works debunked conceptions, according to which the influence on consciousness was reduced only to words and exhortations, and the influence by deed--through participation in the transformation of society and in revolutionary practice--was inexcusably ignored. Finally, in the understanding of the creators of the new world view, the change of people and their views appears as the result of the interaction of two aspects--circumstances and education.

Marxism-Leninism resolutely opposes the unscientific conceptions which consider it possible to solve the problems of the formation of the views of people purely through educational ways. As a matter of fact, if the world view of the workers depended only on well-organized ideological and educational work, there would not be a place for many delusions, survivals and unscientific views. However, they exist, and in some cases they are livening up. Why? Because in real life not only objective conditions exist that promote the formation of a scientific world view, but also reasons which support and reproduce negative elements in the consciousness and conduct of people.

The recognition of the decisive significance of objective conditions in the formation of a scientific world view does not mean, of course, the underestimation of the subjective factor. The mastery of the fundamental ideas of

Marxism-Leninism and the clear understanding of the policy of the CPSU and its role in its realization--all this to a large extent is the result of the purposefulness of the work of the party and state organizations, the higher and secondary school, science and culture, and the system of information, culture and education.

The interaction of objective conditions and the subjective factor takes place dialectically, according to the principle of feedforward and feedback communication. The disregard of this interdependence leads to extremes. On the one hand, the exaggeration of the role of the subjective factor, including the isolation of ideological work from life and its real problems, which was the subject of sharp discussion at the 27th CPSU Congress, in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," and at the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments in October 1986, leads to boring didacticism and idle talk. On the other hand, hope based on the automatic operation of objective circumstances alone is fraught with economic determinism and vulgar materialist conceptions of the ways of forming the inner world of people.

The CPSU proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist conceptions according to which the world view of the people of a socialist society is formed under the influence of three basic prerequisites: The surrounding reality, the workers' own social practice, and training and education. For this reason, in its documents the formation, in people, of Marxist-Leninist views, is linked not only with pedagogical and ideological efforts, but also with the various measures for the qualitative improvement of all spheres of social life, with the further rise of the initiative and activeness of the masses in the solution of the tasks of economic and cultural construction.

In so doing, as the historical experience of the CPSU convincingly indicates, the correct characterization of the essence of the stage being experienced by the country, its distinctive features, and the formulation of the tasks that to the greatest degree meet the requirements of the time, are of great significance. In determining the character of the present stage of communist creation, the CPSU is guided by the fact that the growing of socialism into communism is conditioned by the objective laws of social development; here the running ahead and slowness in solving urgent problems are equally harmful. Both the one and the other does damage to the world view of people, to their conceptions about the difficulty and the dimensions of the tasks being solved by the country. This is sufficiently eloquently indicated by the experience of the 1960's, when tasks of communist construction were considered as immediate practical directions, for the realization of which the necessary material and spiritual prerequisites did not exist. A simplified approach to the question of the ways and the required periods of time for entering into the higher stage of communism and the, in a number of cases, unfounded actions in these or those spheres of activity of society--all this hindered the formation, in Soviet people, of really scientific conceptions about the problems of social development.

The delay in the solution of immediate tasks and the gap between word and deed, theory and practice, which took place in the subsequent period also played a

negative role. In the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress it was noted that, if the thesis about developed socialism found dissemination in our country as a reaction to the lightly-constructed conceptions of the ways and the time periods required for the solution of the tasks of communist construction, subsequently the accents in the treatment of developed socialism shifted. Frequently the matter was reduced merely to the statement of successes, and many problems of vital importance were not given the requisite attention.⁶

In the documents of the congress, the estimate of the attained level of social development is more precisely defined and made more concrete, and it is stated that the country has entered the stage of developed socialism.⁷ Precisely has entered. But this suggests that a great deal of work with respect to the improvement of the socialism built in our country still lies ahead.

The improvement [sovershenstvovaniye] of real socialism has taken place, in essence, during its entire history. In the party documents are revealed the principal peculiarities and features of this process in present-day conditions. First of all, we are talking about a socialism which has entered the stage of its developedness [razvitost]. Secondly, the improvement of socialism affects now all aspects of the life of society. Thirdly, the task presents itself of securing it on another, significantly more powerful base, through the intensive, not the extensive path. Fourthly, the main source and basis of this process is the acceleration of the socio-economic development of the country, and its goal is the attainment, by Soviet society, of qualitatively new parameters in productive forces and in all social relations, in the prosperity of people, in the development of socialist self-management, and in the formation of the internal world of man. We are thus talking not simply about the qualitative increases, but about an, in its essence, revolutionary restructuring of the various spheres of social life, about the transformation and renewal of deep structures in the economy, in the political, social and spiritual spheres.

A decisive force of acceleration and restructuring is the living creativity of the masses, everything that they call the human factor. Without its activation, not a single one of the tasks that have been advanced can be solved. This thesis has been repeatedly emphasized and developed in the party documents adopted after the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.⁸

In raising the question concerning the activation of the human factor, the CPSU does not reduce it to any single one, for example, the production function. In the human factor, at least three aspects can be singled out: The cultural-technical (qualifications, professional knowledge, skills, etc.); the psychophysical (the ability to reform oneself psychologically, mobility in the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, physical training, etc.); and the spiritual-ideological (communist conviction, active life position, high civic spirit, moral maturity, etc.). Viewed generally, the problem of the activation of the human factor is, above all, a problem of the development of man and the formation of an integral socialist personality.

The whole experience of the construction of the new society confirms that any serious undertaking brings the expected results only when it becomes the vital business of the workers themselves. The role of the human factor especially

grows in critical periods of social development. This is indicated, for example by the experience accumulated by the party during the transition to the new economic policy, when the question arose of involving the broad masses of workers in active and conscious participation in the socialist transformation of society. And it became the historical merit of the Leninist party that it succeeded in finding ways of achieving the outlined goals, with this being done in the process of the realization of the multi-faceted economic, political, social, and educational tasks in their inseparable interdependence. It is precisely toward such an approach that the party oriented the Leninist plan for the building of socialism in the USSR.

The practice of socialist creation indicates convincingly what great significance, in the conditions of dynamic changes in all spheres of life, such qualities among the items of the human factor as feeling for the new, creativity, initiative, as well as--we shall single this out especially--the ability of dialectical thinking, have. "The new thinking, which all must master," M. S. Gorbachev said, "is dialectical thinking. . . ."9 The elaboration of such thinking is an integral part of the process of forming the scientific world view. It is said correctly that a brain which is well organized is valued more highly than a brain which is well filled. But in order for a brain to be well organized it is important to teach it not so much to remember (this is something which machines do now very well), as to think, to work out such a universal method of thinking as the materialist dialectic. The mechanical mastery and repetition of what in certain conditions appears to be a common truth, the inability to see life in all of its complexities and contradictions lead to dogmatism and spiritual conservatism, which inevitably is expressed in conservatism in the solution of practical problems.

At present, when the Soviet people and our friends abroad are preparing to observe the 70th anniversary of the Great October, one can again recall the examples of the Leninist approach to the analysis of the historical situation and, in particular, the events that took place in 1917 in the process of the preparation of the socialist revolution. Whether the question is the characterization of the current moment, the attitude to the war, to the Provisional Government, to the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!", or the peasant or national questions--everywhere Lenin gave examples of the creative analysis of complex processes and phenomena, the ability to reject stereotype conceptions and cliches, to formulate an assessment of the state of affairs not confined to habitual schemes, but one which proved to be the only correct one.

At the 27th CPSU Congress the appeal "Look at all of our activity with a fresh party view--at all levels, in all echelons" was heard.¹⁰ And this presupposes the necessity of thinking and acting independently and creatively, conforming to the new conditions. A person who checks every step with his instructions and who awaits directions on every occasion can hardly understand what is going on and act in accordance with the new requirements.

Thus, lately a great deal is being done to expand the independence of enterprises, the development of the initiative of the local levels, and the development of democracy. Democratism, as was noted at the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is "not simply a slogan, but the essence of the restructuring."¹¹ In accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and

the Soviet government, the transition of whole branches of industry to the new conditions of management, full economic accountability and self-financing is being implemented. The managers of the enterprises of the agroindustrial complex have received significantly broader rights. Meanwhile, some workers, including executives, have proved to be unprepared for independent decisions and actions, they cannot take a step without saving instructions "from above." This is a real problem--to learn to work in the conditions of growing independence and expanding socialist democracy. And in its solution a great deal depends on the restructuring of the work with cadres. The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum set the task of "attaining that every link of party, state, economic, and social work is headed by people who are devoted to the party and the people, real innovators who deeply realize the necessity of qualitative changes in our society, who are able to break inertia and routine and to creatively carry out the policy of the party."¹²

To think and act in the new way is impossible without repudiating the stereotypes which interfere with the work, but are nevertheless widespread. One of them, for example, is the orientation toward purely volume indicators of production activity. In its time, it was justified. When the foundations of the socialist economy were laid, the question of quantity was important on the economic, as well as on the political and defense plane.

Quantity indicators are also important today. But the approach, of course, is becoming more differentiated. The orientation only on gross increases in many situations is becoming a hindrance to real movement forward. It is well known, for example, that the production of various footwear in our country comes to more than 800 million pairs a year.¹³ However, the demand for good-quality footwear is far from being fully satisfied, above all because of the low quality of many of its types. Consequently, simply quantity parameters in this case do not meet the main thing--social needs. An analogous picture is observed in a number of other sectors. This is why in the party documents the task was set to seek another approach to the assessment of the results of the activity of enterprises. Its realization requires not only the creation of conditions in which it would be disadvantageous to produce low-quality articles, but also a resolute struggle with the old conceptions and "gross [output]" priorities.

The success of the policy of acceleration and restructuring to a large extent depends on the ability to promote and to put into effect new, progressive ideas. In so doing, the party attaches extremely great importance to the creation of the kind of atmosphere that presupposes the possibility of the comparison of views, the struggle of opinions and points of view in conditions of the steadfast loyalty to the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The party supports the competition of intellects and talents, experiments, fruitful discussions and a bold search. Searches, of course, cannot be pursued without risks, perhaps even failures. But it is not this which is dangerous. Terrible are stagnation and the absence of movement, without which, as is well known, any organism, including a social organism, doomed to extinction. The realization of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress presupposes such a high level of intellect, erudition, and competence that the education, training, search and promotion of gifted, talented people are becoming a most important political necessity.¹⁴

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The formation of the world view and the entire make-up of the socialist personality is significantly influenced by the social contradictions which are the moving force of social development. It is natural that their thorough analysis is one of the necessary conditions promoting the correct determination of the ways of the formation of a scientific world view in workers.

The question concerning contradictions has not only great methodological significance. Here the propagandistic aspect is also important. The point is that in the ordinary consciousness the objective contradictions frequently come out, not as a source of progress and stimulus of social development, but as something undesirable, negative, and unacceptable. Such a perception of the contradictions can lead to a narrow and too straightforward view of things, to the development of elements of mechanistic, and not dialectical thinking. The consequence of this is the inability to correctly explain the objective difficulties that appear as one of the manifestations of the constant struggle of the old and the new, creative and negative phenomena.

An important contribution to the exposure of the real contradictions of the present and ways of solving them was made by the 27th CPSU Congress. The materials and documents of the congress are a model of the dialectical analysis of reality. They characterize the broadest panorama of the complex contemporary world, permeated by opposing trends and full of contradictions. "Through the struggle of opposites," it was underscored in the Political Report of the Central Committee, "the contradictory, but interdependent and in many respects integral world is taking shape with difficulty, to a certain extent to the touch, as it were."¹⁵

The contradictions of social development, in one way or another, influence the world view of people. To take, for example, the economic sphere, and in it the problem of the combination of various interests--public, collective, and personal. The public ownership of the means of production, the single national economic complex, the clearly formulated supreme goal of socialist production and the corresponding economic and social policy of the CPSU--all this is conducive to the harmonization of interests. At the same time, even within the framework of a socialist economy conditions can take shape and be reproduced, where the interests of enterprises or associations in something do not coincide with the interests of the consumer and society as a whole, and even directly contradict them. In such situations are concealed the roots of departmentalism, regionalism, and group egoism, which do damage to the economy, to the improvement of social relations, and to the formation of collectivism as essential traits of the communist world view. One of the contradictions of that sort is the contradiction between the requirements of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the development of the economy on an intensive basis, on the one side, and an inadequately adjusted economic mechanism, on the other.

As is well known, in the development of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress the party took a number of cardinal measures which provide for the broad introduction of new methods of management of the economy and the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Their practical realization has not only economic and social, but also ideological significance. And this is quite natural, for the

steps being implemented are aimed seeing to it that the public interest, which under socialism has priority, is realized by a person as his own, as an interest free of group or personal profit or egoism.

A significant influence on the formation of the ideological positions of people is exerted by contradictions in other spheres of the life of society, in particular in the socio-political sphere. These include contradictions between development, the increasingly fuller realization of socialist self-management of the people and the strengthening of the Soviet socialist state, between the expansion of democratic principles and the strengthening of elements of centralism in these or those spheres, between the national and the international, etc. All of these contradictions are positively solved in the conditions of socialism, but the process of their solution does not happen automatically.

If, for example, this or that enterprise does not fulfill or pushes into the background the orders of a fraternal republic, if a low portion of persons of the native nationality remains in the composition of the working class, if in one or another republic the proper attention is not given to the further development of national relations and the work with respect to international education is weakened, contradictions between the national and international may not smooth out, but intensify. The events that took place in Alma-Ata at the end of 1986 confirmed the correctness of what was said at the 27th Party Congress concerning the fact that in the sphere of national relations "the aspiration to national isolation and localistic tendencies and parasitic inclinations still persist and at times announce themselves painfully."¹⁶

The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted the necessity of the strict and persistent realization of the demands of Leninist nationality policy and emphasized that all questions that arise must be solved in good time and correctly "on the only possible basis--in the interest of the flourishing of every nation and nationality, in the interest of their further rapprochement, in the interests of the entire society."¹⁷ Only under these conditions can a genuinely internationalist world view be formed in the workers.

It would be incorrect to give out all shortcomings in this or that sphere to be dialectical contradictions. There are quite a few attendant difficulties, miscalculations, and errors that are called forth by subjective reasons. It is also illegitimate to confuse objective contradictions and those contradictions that arise as the result of mismanagement and poor work. But in any case, the neglect of social contradictions, regardless of their origin, is fraught with great difficulties.

In social life, and in the world view, contradictions are resolved unequally: Some more quickly, the others more slowly. This depends both on the dimensions of the contradictions and on the timeliness of their exposure. As was noted at the 27th Congress of the party and the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the achievements of the Soviet people on the paths of socialist construction are enormous and indisputable. But at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, the country began to lose its forward movement, stagnant and other phenomena foreign to socialism appeared. The practical actions of party and state organs lagged behind the requirements of the time and life itself.

Serious shortcomings have accumulated in the operation of the institutions of socialist democracy, a stiffness of forms and methods of management took place. Because of first and foremost subjective reasons, conservative inclinations prevailed in the development of policy and in practical activity.¹⁸

In essence, an intensification of a whole series of contradictions in the life of the country took place, which led to the increase of the discrepancy between the possibilities of socialism and the degree of their realization. The slowdown in the growth of production, the non-fulfillment of a number of important social measures, the growth of bureaucratism, and the elements of social corrosion--all of this had a negative effect on the views, inclinations and psychology of a part of the workers and on social consciousness as a whole.

The principal assessment, by the party, of the mistakes and shortcomings permitted, the ability to extract "lessons of truth", the consistent application of Marxist-Leninist dialectics in the cognition and transformation of reality, and the entire multifaceted work of the CPSU aimed at the restructuring and the renewal of all aspects of the life of our society, are already beginning to bear fruit, including in the sphere of spiritual life. A new social atmosphere is taking shape. High ideological and moral values of Soviet society, which were previously devalued a little, are being restored. People have become more exacting toward themselves and toward each other. Public apathy, indifference, and laziness of thought are becoming a thing of the past. In our life there has come to pass more light, openness, truth, democracy, that is more socialism.

Of paramount significance in the matter of the formation of a scientific world view in workers is the consistent, purposeful and uncompromising struggle with various sorts of negative phenomena. As is well known, for a long time such phenomena were explained, above all, by the lag of consciousness behind social life, by the remnants of capitalism, as well as by bourgeois influence from the outside. As far as the latter is concerned, there is no subject for dispute here. The question of the remnants of the past, of the lag of consciousness behind life as the reason for anti-social manifestations, is solved with significantly greater difficulty.

The theory which explains the existence of negative phenomena under socialism only by the lag of consciousness behind social life in essence separates consciousness from the realities of life. This theory, if one thinks it over, demands explaining the processes taking place in the consciousness by the characteristics of the consciousness itself, not going out beyond its limits. It turns out that in social life itself there are no negative aspects, that non-socialist elements in the consciousness are the result only of the ideological influence of the past or the harmful effects of contemporary capitalism.

Of course, it is illegitimate to deny this influence, but it is also impossible to reduce everything to the survivals of the past in consciousness, when the non-socialist classes and groups were liquidated a long time ago, when the absolute majority of the population grew up in the conditions of the new order, and when socialist social relations and the Marxist-Leninist world view hold sway in society.

To characterize something as a survival does not at all mean to conceal the reason for its existence. During the analysis of the reasons for negative phenomena it would be expedient to distinguish two questions. The first question is the genesis, origin, and the historical roots of such phenomena. From this point of view, the greater part of them is actually engendered by previous social formations: As a matter of fact, you see, it was not socialism which brought to life such vices as private property aspirations, individualism, nationalist prejudices, superstition, etc. The second question is the reasons for the preservation, and in some cases even reanimation, of negative phenomena.

The reasons for their vitality are not explained simply by the long preservation of the influence of the past. The main reasons for the existence of negative phenomena that remain under socialism are found, not in the heads of people, not in the peculiarities of their "lagging" consciousness, but in these or those aspects of social life, in objective conditions. The dialectics of development are such that, on the one hand, the new social and economic formation in principle denies capitalism, and, on the other, this formation, in its first stage, still preserves, in the expression of Marx, in the economic, moral and spiritual relations, "the birth-marks" of capitalism, from the entrails of which it came. Social inequality still has not been fully overcome, the economic isolation of people in production, distribution and consumption is still preserved to a certain degree, significant differences remain between physical and mental labor, between the socio-economic and cultural-everyday living conditions of the residents of town and country. All of this, one way or another, is an objective source of differences in the ideological conceptions both of individual people and of various social groups.

In our social science literature, the presence of objective preconditions for such antipodes of the socialist way of life as crime, infringements of the law, etc., was denied. But meanwhile the following question remained without an answer: Why, regardless of the fact that the conditions for these antipodes are close to zero, they do exist, and what is more, in some cases they are becoming more active? Such an approach is an indication of a certain inconsistency in the application of the dialectic-materialist methodology of knowledge and the explanation of the processes of social reality, the confusion of such different questions as the historical roots of negative phenomena and the reasons for their preservation under socialism, the disinclination to see the difference between the ideal manifestations of the socialist social order and its real operation. And this, voluntarily or not, leads to the conclusion concerning the problem-less nature of the new order and signifies the return to the conception of the "perfect society" rejected by Marxism,¹⁹ and yields the same false idealization which our party resolutely opposes.

Now a more realistic view of the problem being examined is being established, in accordance with which anti-social manifestations are engendered also by mistakes and miscalculations in our activity, by various contradictions which manifest themselves in the course of socialist construction.²⁰

In the Program of the CPSU it is emphasized that "work in regard to communist education is inseparable from the struggle with the manifestations of foreign ideology and morality, with all negative phenomena connected with survivals of the past in the consciousness and conduct of people, with shortcomings of

practical work in various areas social life, and with the delay in the solution of urgent problems."²¹ Consequently, in the program document of the party the reasons for the incorrect views and actions are not reduced only to survivals, but are explained also by miscalculations and errors admitted in our time.

At the 27th CPSU Congress and at the January Central Committee Plenum there was clear and frank talk about the omissions in political, practical and theoretical activity, about the unfavorable trends in the economy and the social and spiritual sphere, and about the reasons for such phenomena. Basing itself on the broadest support of the people, the party is steering a persistent and steady course aimed at the eradication of such manifestations. In so doing, in connection with the constant contraction of the "sphere of action" of the survivals of the past proper and with the consistent realization of the policy aimed at acceleration, increasingly greater attention is being devoted to the struggle with mismanagement and conservatism, with habitual, but already ineffective conceptions that hinder the cause. The work being conducted is conducive to the consistent realization of socialist principles and the more effective utilization of the advantages of the new order. Thereby increasingly more favorable conditions are being created for the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world view and communist convictions in Soviet people.

* * *

In the formation of a scientific world view in Soviet people, an exceptionally great role belongs to the ideological work of the party. In accordance with the thought of Lenin, its base and main content is "the development of the consciousness of the masses."²² In his works, the importance of the development of an integral revolutionary world view in people was noted many times.

The process of the influence of ideological work on the world view is complex and many-sided. First of all, this is a process of the development of theory, in the course of which the regularities of social development are apprehended and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is enriched, and scientifically substantiated recommendations for the political and practical activity of the party and the state are formed. Secondly, this is a process of education, propaganda, and transmittal of information, thanks to which ideological knowledge, with the aid of various means, forms and methods, is introduced into the consciousness of people. Thirdly, this is a process of training, which is called upon to melt the knowledge received into convictions and motives of practical activity of the person. Finally, this is a process of organization and association of the workers on a common ideological platform.

The deep restructuring being carried out in the country fully extends also to ideological activity. The leitmotiv of the transformation here is a decisive turn toward life, toward practice.

A certain "departure" of ideological-theoretical work, propaganda and education from vital questions of life began to make itself felt a long time ago. This has been repeatedly stated in party documents. Quite a number of decisions have been adopted that are aimed at increasing the effectiveness of ideological work, but they proved to be incomplete. In the sphere of ideology,

serious shortcomings have accumulated, which were in essence talked about at the 27th Congress: The system of working by spurts, separation from life and underestimation of the acuteness of urgent problems, elements of scholasticism and meditateness. The formation of communist conviction was hindered by a situation where a person read in the newspapers, heard on the radio, and saw on television one thing, but in the actual reality frequently ran into another, directly opposite.

It is, of course, not only a question of ideological work. In the final analysis, its state and key [tonalnost] reflected the developed situation of complacency and emotional seizure with successes, the disinclination to perceive new and by far not always propitious phenomena and trends. But in one way or another the lack of realism in the assessment of the state of affairs, the withdrawal from acute questions that are worrying people, and the disregard of the problems that have increased--all of this had a negative effect on the social atmosphere and world outlook of the workers and weakened confidence in propaganda and information.

The rightness of our ideas, the adherence to principle of the political course, and social justice are judged by the workers most often, not in the abstract, but with regard to the realities which exist both in society as a whole and in daily life: Where they work, study, live, and spend their free time. Extremely topical are the words of Lenin: "If previously we propagandized with general truths, now we are propagandizing with work. This is also a sermon, but this is a sermon through action. . . ."23

Precisely from those Leninist positions, the 27th Party Congress approached the whole complex of questions connected with educational activity. The filling of theoretical formulas, political directives, slogans, and appeals with concrete content is an indispensable condition of the firmness of ideological convictions, the overcoming of abstract educational activities and didacticism. The influence of ideological work on the process of the formation of the views of the workers depends on how much this work is perceived as receptive to the new phenomena, to what extent it proves possible to realize the essence of the problems that have become imminent and to propose optimal methods for their solution. For this reason, the directives of the party are aimed at seeing to it that ideological activity fully considers the processes taking place in real life and in a number of its components, in particular in the elaboration of theoretical questions, passes ahead of it.

The strength and power of Marxist-Leninist theory lie in its capacity for creative development and renewal, in its ability to discern the new historical period of development and to give answers to the most burning problems of the present. This scientific perspicacity of Marxism-Leninism, its revolutionary criticalness and innovational spirit were fully demonstrated by the 27th CPSU Congress. Preserving the continuity of the program directives for the construction of communism and the securing of peace on earth, the party meanwhile at its congress reinterpreted what did not stand the test of time, formulated a number of fundamentally new theoretical-political conclusions, and developed a scientifically adjusted program of action for the near and the more remote future.

This does not mean, of course, that now there are answers for literally all questions. For the time being, there are significantly more problems in social life than ready-made solutions. A great deal will have to be reinterpreted with regard to vital objects and the scientific-technical revolution. In the search for answers to the questions that arise, the party attaches great significance to the social sciences. In the documents of the congress and in the speech of M. S. Gorbachev and the report of Ye. K. Ligachev at the All-Union Conference of Chiefs of Social Science Departments, ways of overcoming the separation of theory and practice were determined, measures were outlined to increase the role of the social sciences in the implementation of the course aimed at the acceleration of the social and economic development of the country and in the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world view in the Soviet people. The essence of the deep restructuring of social science is the maximum approximation of research to life, the concentration of the efforts of scholars on the study of the key questions of social development, and the development of recommendations capable of correctly orienting practical workers.

In the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" and in other documents of the party, it was emphasized that a significant intensification of research is required not only in the sphere of theory, but also the history of the CPSU and the world communist and workers' movement. The necessity of fundamental generalizations of the regularities of historical development and the movement of the communists of all countries as the exponents of the age-old hopes of the people of labor and of all progressive mankind was noted. The analysis of the experience of the past, addressed to the present and future, is also a necessary element of theory and a method with the aid of which new theoretical deductions are being elaborated. Hence the fundamental directive formulated by the party: "To attain the organic unification of the tasks of research of the past with the tasks of the reinterpretation of the present and the penetration into the future. . . ."23a

The party is turning serious attention to the creation of a genuinely creative atmosphere in science. If, as before, the competition of ideas and the confrontation of points of view will be absent, then it will hardly prove possible to overcome the fear of new problems and the bold formulation of questions, that scholasticism, the harm of which has been talked about already for how many years. As is clear from the decisions of the 27th Congress and other documents of the CPSU, the party position of a scholar is determined, not by his ability to build on settled views, but by his capability to go beyond the habitual, but already obsolete conceptions, and by his resoluteness in helping the restructuring in deed. ". . . It is necessary to learn the indisputable truth," Lenin wrote, "that a Marxist must take into account living life, the precise facts of reality, and not to continue to cling to the theory of yesterday. . . ."24

Revolutionary changes in society are impossible without corresponding changes in social consciousness. The question is the necessity of liberating it, to make it more active, more receptive to new ideas, and on this basis to significantly increase the spiritual activeness of the people.²⁵

In the solution of this fundamental task, an important role belongs to the means of verbal and printed propaganda, and among them--to the press. Its bold

incursion into life and its work in regard to the active association of the workers with the processes of the restructuring, and the principled struggle against shortcomings are aimed at the intensification of the political activity of the Soviet people and their ability to judge everything consciously, with knowledge of the matter. Broad and universal openness, creative and responsible criticism, not looking at the person and not recognizing closed zones, are becoming a phenomenon enjoying full rights in our social life. Under the pretense that it is "disadvantageous" to subject existing difficulties and shortcomings to broad illumination, some advocate the curtailment of criticism. As has been repeatedly noted in the documents of the party, it is impossible to agree with such a position, to communists the truth is always advantageous, and there cannot be too much of it.

In the matter of the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world view, it is difficult to overestimate the significance of the system of political and economic studies. In the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Organization of the Political and Economic Education of the Workers in the Academic Year 1986/1987," two important features of the work now being conducted were emphasized. The first: The content of the studies is fully subordinated to the thorough study of the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. The second feature is the search for modern approaches to the organization of studies, its optimal structure, and the gradual transition to a system of political and economic education, which would meet today's requirements of the party. The chief goal of the forthcoming restructuring consists in making the system of Marxist-Leninist education flexible, capable of responding to the changing demands and needs of society, and in securing its linkage with the solution of the basic task--the acceleration of the socio-economic development of the country.²⁶

One of the characteristic features of present-day ideological activity is its turn to the concrete person. The course aimed at the reinforcement of individual work as the most important form of education entails significant changes in the character and orientation of ideological and educational activity. This is not a one-sided process, where one "discourses" and the others merely "listen." This is a process of two-way communication and mutual enrichment, a process which envisages the study of opinions, inclinations, and views of people, which, in their turn, must be assessed, taken into account, and formed in the course of propaganda and education.

The individual is not only an object, but also an active subject of ideological influence. To a significant extent, a person himself forms his own world view and character, himself controls his feelings and conduct. And it is very important that the education "from the outside" is supplemented with education "from the inside", self-education, the significance of which will grow in proportion to the development of our society. The approach to the individual not only as an object, but also as an active subject of ideological influence dictates the necessity of the rejection of the "production volume" approach to the ideological sphere. Calculation on "inclusion", on "the mass" leads to the fact that the figures overshadow the living person. As a result, on the one hand, those who deserve it do not always receive the requisite public recognition, and, on the other, insufficient attention is given to people who violate the rules of the socialist community, who are unstable in ideological respect.

Not formal indicators and statistical data, but the achieved level of consciousness and ideological maturity, labor and public activeness of people--in this the basic criterion of the effectiveness of ideological work is seen.

It would, obviously, be incorrect to explain almost all the defects in the world view of people only by shortcomings in educational work. But the educational front, of course, bears its share of responsibility, both for the results of educational activity and for the state of affairs in other spheres of social life, including the main one--the socio-economic sphere.

The restructuring of ideological work does not mean, of course, the denial or underestimation of previous experience. On the contrary, it presupposes a careful attitude to everything valuable and positive, the observance of continuity. To fully consider new phenomena and at the same time to make active use of what has stood the test of time, to continue and develop the remarkable traditions of Bolshevik propaganda, is an important condition for the high effectiveness of agitation-propaganda and educational activity and the business of the formation of the world view of the masses.

* * *

The process of the formation of a scientific world view of the workers is complex and varied. This is a process of the creation of objective conditions (economic, social, political, and spiritual), which are necessary for the development of correct views of the surrounding reality and the corresponding attitude to it. This is a process of the consistent development of revolutionary-transforming activity, the social creativity of Soviet people aimed at the acceleration of the social and economic development of the country, and the fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. This is a process of the education of the workers in the spirit of communist ideals. Only an integrated, comprehensive approach to the problem of the formation and development of the Marxist-Leninist world view of the workers makes it possible to solve this program task of the party.

NOTES

1. K. Marks i F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 13, p 493.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 12, p 146.
3. KOMMUNIST, 1986, No 15, p 6.
4. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskogo Soyuz" [Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, 1986, p 91.
5. "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz. Novaya redaktsiya. Prinyata XXVII syezdom KPSS" [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. New Edition. Adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 52.
6. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskogo Soyuz," p 93.

7. Cf. "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz," p. 4.
8. Cf. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 15 oktyabrya 1985 goda" [Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 15 October 1985], Moscow, 1985, p 9; "Materialy XXVII sezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz," p 117; "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta partii KPSS, 27-28 yanvarya 1987 goda" [Materials of the 27th CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 27-28 January 1987], Moscow, 1987, p 24.
9. KOMMUNIST, 1986, No 15, p 5.
10. "Materialy XXVII sezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz," pp 77-78.
11. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 27-28 yanvarya 1987 goda," p 28.
12. Ibid., p 83.
13. Cf. PRAVDA, 18 January 1987.
14. Cf. E. A. Shevardnadze, "Strategiya uskoreniya--leninizm v deystvii. Doklad na torzhestvennom zasedanii v Moskve, posvyashchennom 116-y godovshchine so dnya rozhdeniya V. I. Lenina, 22 aprelya 1986 goda" [The Strategy of Acceleration--Leninism In Action. Address at the Ceremonial Session in Moscow Dedicated to the 116th Anniversary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin, 22 April 1986], Moscow, 1986, p 11.
15. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz," p 21.
16. Ibid., p 53.
17. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 27-28 yanvarya 1987 goda," p 38.
18. Cf. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz," p 4; "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 27-28 yanvarya 1987 goda," pp 74-75.
19. Cf. K. Marks i F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 21, p 275.
20. Cf., for example, A. Rekunkov, "On Guard for Law and Order and Social Justice," KOMMUNIST, 1986, No 1, p 43.
21. "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuz," p 54.
22. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 13, p 376.
23. Ibid., Vol 38, p 198.
- 23a. "On the Journal KOMMUNIST. Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee," KOMMUNIST, 1986, No 12, p 9.

24. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 31, p 134.
25. Cf. Ye. K. Ligachev, "Kursom Oktyabrya, v dukhe revolyutsionnogo tvor-
chestva. Doklad na torzhestvennom sobranii v Moskve, posvyashchennom 69-y
godovshchine Velikoy Oktyabrskoy revolyutsii v Kremlevskom Dvortse syezdov
6 noyabrya 1986 goda" [On the Course of October, in the Spirit of Revolu-
tionary Creation. Address at the Ceremonial Meeting in Moscow Dedicated
to the 69th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the
Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 6 November 1986], Moscow, 1986, p 16.
26. PRAVDA, 14 August 1986.

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CSO: 1830/511

SOCIAL ISSUES

PAPER HITS PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR FOREIGN TOURISTS

PM251559 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 13 June 1987 carries on page 6 under the rubric "Polemical Notes" and the headline "Welcome, or No Entry" a 3,400-word article by movie director Stanislav Govorukhin complaining of the preferential treatment given to foreign tourists in the Crimean seaside resort of Yalta and in Moscow. He writes that Yalta is no longer what it used to be: "The beaches, the forest, the mountains have ceased to be accessible to local residents--all around now there are cordons, barriers, signs, and categorical notices: 'prohibited,' 'forbidden,' 'no entry,' 'do not walk.'" The writer goes on: "Yes, it is uncomfortable for citizens with a Soviet passport in their pocket in this city." In the whole of Yalta there are just 94 hotel rooms designated for Soviet citizens, even though hotel building has been proceeding apace over the past 15 years. Soviet people are obliged to suffer all sorts of indignities and hardships to ensure that foreign tourists receive preferential treatment. A Yalta hotel director's attitude is that "a foreigner, even if he is drunk, pays in foreign currency." Govorukhin continues: "Yes, the state needs foreign currency--marks, pounds, francs, dinars, dollars. It can use them to buy computers, machine tools, medical equipment, clothing, perfumery. But does this foreign currency not cost us too dear? When a waiter, doorman, or manager fawns before a foreigner but addresses a Soviet citizen, his compatriot, rudely, disrespectfully, and boorishly, to my eyes he appears a slave. He is a slave, with the mentality of a slave. Just think: We are failing to prevent the emergence in our society, before our very eyes, of some stratum of slaves." Going on to complain of a similar situation in Moscow hotels, the writer says: "Try to walk past the 20-story Inturist Hotel on Gorkiy Street late in the evening. Garishly dressed young girls bar your way, grab your elbow, and speak in a broken foreign tongue. There is just one way to get away from them: Speak to them in Russian. Then they at once lose all interest in you."

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WOULD-BE EMIGRES DECIDE TO REMAIN, CITE REASONS

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA special correspondent A. Kurbatov: "'Please Return my Application to Emigrate...', or Several Interviews at the Final Boundary"]

[Text] An old detached building on one of the quiet streets in the center of Moscow. In the reception line, there is a man of about 50 and a man and women of the same general age. Closest of all to the door of an office, where an employee of the visa administration will see the visitors, sits a no-longer-young, loudly-dressed woman. In well-delivered tones she is informing her neighbor and, it turns out, everybody else as well that: "I have been living 'in refusal' for two years. It's not so terrible! Good people will always help. The main thing is to fight until you win." Is she buoying up her neighbor or sharing experiences? I already knew what a "refusednik" is --this is a person whose request to emigrate has been refused. The reasons are varied: some have been connected with work, the nature of which touches upon the security interests of our country, others have aged parents who are dependent upon them and need their help, or minor children... With us, as in other countries, people have not only rights, but also responsibilities.

Receiving hours still have not begun. Hushed voices, half whispers. It seemed to me at first that I had landed in a line where everybody knew each other well. I now have the impression that I am in home where ... there is a dead person. The faces of the people reveal now fright, now confusion, now eerie curiosity -- it is frightening and, at the same time, you want to watch them.

Somebody in the line is now talking about acquaintances who have settled themselves very well "there" -- and hope flares up on the faces. But, somebody drops the rejoinder that "Mikhail Isakovich has not been lucky"., and the faces of everyone grow long. And it seems that many of them want to get up then and there and leave the reception room...

I ask my neighbors about the recent television broadcasts of the film "Byvshiye" (The Have-Beens). They have seen it, and they watched the press conference with those who had returned to the motherland. From the way that they answered me, from certain of their rejoinders, I realized that these

people, in general, are greedily searching out any information that come "from there". But...

"Your television exaggerates everything!" This was the rejoinder thrown by a man of 35 years who, with seeming detachment, was studying an English-language textbook for upper school students.

Reception hours begin. And I go up the second floor, to the office of the deputy chief of the visa and registration administration (UVIR), A. Zinchenko, in order to obtain telephone numbers of people who have withdrawn their applications to emigrate from our country. There are getting to be more and more such requests every month. They told me to select any telephone numbers I wanted from two large piles of file folders, which had been prepared for sending to the archives.

The first call. Aleksandr Vladimirovich N. decisively refuses to meet with a correspondent:

"I would like to bury the past," he says. "We are trying to forget the stupid thing that we almost did with the entire family."

"Perhaps your experience will help others," I say.

"You don't know much about the psychology of those people who are bursting to go abroad," laughed my telephone conversation partner. "You won't stop them with words." They consider that the choice of a future is an especially individual thing. They don't need advisors."

"And what caused you to stop?"

"Various thoughts... If a person is not a fool and not an adventurer, he won't want to play the lottery. For us, you know, things are somehow calmer. A genius, you are not; everyone has the possibility of living normally. And there, if you don't want to take chances, you may end up under the hoofs."

Next Call.

"You know, I am a member, for sure, of that category of unrecognized geniuses, of which there are many among the people who are leaving. It seemed to me that, on the other side of the ocean, they would be able to judge my capabilities according to their worth." says an engineer at one of the plants in Moscow, Georgiy Konstantinovich M.

"And now it doesn't seem this way to you?"

"Do you want an honest answer?"

"Yes."

"I really am capable of a lot. But I was frightened of the loneliness. I sometimes receive letters from friends who went there earlier. There is a mortal melancholy in them. They have turned their apartments into dormitories

-- if only to have company, their tears flow over gypsy songs in cheap bars... And what do I need all this for? And, in general, a letter I received from a close lady friend, who would now like to return to the motherland, made a very strong impression on me. Do you know what shook her most of all in the United States? The reaction of parents to attention paid to their children! For us, it is a usual thing to praise an unknown child, to smile at him, but there, this is a danger signal: aren't they playing with him so as to steal him? This vexed her to the point of tears, because she loves children, is drawn to them. For some, and for me personally, this fact has been etched in memory, and I have understood that there we, who have grown up in a completely different environment, would simply be like people from another planet."

I call another number. Lidiya Davydovna Klyuzner also agreed to answer my questions.

"What drew me abroad? My children. They left for Israel several years ago, then moved on to the United States. Do I need to say how much I missed them? And so, somehow I made the decision and was getting ready, but then I thought it over: what awaits me there; who needs me, other than my children? And is it possible to be happy in a home where a foreign world lies beyond the threshold? Here I have an apartment, a decent pension, people who are close to me, with whom I can get together and talk in my native language. The motherland, don't you know, doesn't make changes and doesn't make choices."

Still another call. Savelii Mikhaylovich Linnik is in mourning -- he recently buried his wife. He could meet with a correspondent, but it would be better in about two weeks, in a month.

"I have to get myself together. Such a loss. But I have something to say to those who have frivolously agreed to leave for abroad. No matter what golden promises they made us there, we couldn't leave our motherland. I and my wife wrote this in our request to remain. And, indeed, we were a special case.

"My wife was hopelessly ill -- cancer. Her sister, who lives in the US, wrote that she needed to try change in climate, to be seen by a foreign specialist. We grasped at this straw and submitted an application to UVIR to leave. But, later, we thought it over: how would we feel outside our own home, in which even the familiar walls help? My wife and I lived a long life together. We had something to remember and to understand, which we would lose. I once spent 3 weeks on an assignment abroad. The first week, it was interesting for me. The second went by -- I had an irrepressible urge to return home. The third week was torture... And it will be this way with every normal person, particularly one who has grown up in our environment. Here, in our country, there are differences in the material well-being of people, based on their work. But this differentiation is insignificant in comparison to the capitalist world, You know, a normal person needs only to see the fashionable store windows there, with an impoverished child on the sidewalk next to them, in order for him to understand everything: where social justice is real, and where it is imaginary. Is it really possible for everyone to live equally in a society where they consider inequality to be the norm?"

"My brother wrote me his impressions." says Yakov Mkhaylovich Begelman, who also withdrew his application at UVIR, "that they, in fact, are prepared to receive many people there. Only not to show kindness, but mainly to use the very fact of their move to the US from the USSR for propaganda purposes. It seems as if they give them work, particularly in the beginning, without thinking to consider their past: they give a former scientist the opportunity to work as a taxi driver, a musician -- as a floor polisher, and a doctor -- as a guard. For a person who doesn't care what he does for his money, this will be suitable. But, if a person has a calling, if there is something specific he likes to do, then it will be difficult for him. What makes up our happiness? A home, a family, work. Well, and if there is no home and no work?"

"You won't put my name in the paper?" asks another telephone subscriber, Oleg M., and, when I agree, tells me: "Take notes."

"They don't want to talk frankly with you because many will have to admit to their own stupidity, to the fact that they are running up against the law, solely in pursuit of personal ends. For a majority of people, the reason for leaving is the same -- the want to lead, so to say, "the beautiful life", like they do in the movies or the advertisements. Many are simply not brave enough to declare to you that had listened to enough "talk" and wanted to experience the happiness in overseas lands, where everything is "the best of the best". And, much more simply, that he bit on the propagandistic bait of western ideologists who, clearly not for nothing, earn their bread by exaggerating the attractions of their world, of their "freedoms". For some, heads are sent spinning by deceptive ideas based on various kinds of promises. How do I know this? I sometimes receive letters from people who have succeeded in "breaking away" to freedom and I also watch the latest television shows which, in my opinion, convincingly show everybody who is who. It seems to me that we need to talk less about the western world; we need simply to show it. And everything will be clear."

I dialed still another telephone number. Marina Yuryevna Konstantinova agreed to a meeting. At the appointed time, I went, and here is what I learned. The Konstantinovs planned to go to America to follow her husband's father, who left for there in the middle of the 1970's. At first, they had greeted his decision to change his citizenship with surprise. A former front-line soldier, who walked the paths of war to Berlin, decorated with an order, a successful photographic artist -- and suddenly he leaves for the United States! But the reasons which the father laid before them appeared convincing: suppression of creative initiative. And here is what happened: the photographic artist became the unwilling witness to the death of a group of female mountain climbers in the Pamirs. He recorded the tragic events with his camera, and he wanted everyone to know about them. But the newspapers did not print his photographs; they also did not end up in a photographic exhibition.

The father of the Konstantinovs, Nikolay Iosifovich G. (We are not giving his last name at the request of M. Konstantinova), who considered that he had sensational material in his hands, took the refusal to accept his photographs as an insult and decided to knock more loudly on the door.

For roughly a year, cheerful letters arrived from him: "The stores are full of goods, as much meat as you want, freedom -- let it ring." But then the tone of the letters changed: "They don't consider us normal here, you can't get out into nature -- either it doesn't exist or it is under private ownership." And firm advice: "Don't do anything stupid." "There's nothing for you to do here." The young people believed him. Moreover, they developed their own impressions on this account. When you stand on the threshold of a choice, when your life depends on a "yes" or a "no" from you, you think more seriously, more deeply.

And they withdrew their application to leave for the United States. None of their former acquaintances bothered them -- their advisors disappeared immediately, as soon as the rumor went around among their acquaintances: "The Konstantinovs have stopped!" And the father continued to write, but he no longer called on them to join him. These were bitter letters. Robbed 3 times on the street -- almost always without work. No work to be found in his specialty. The crumbs received from emigrant organizations are not enough to live on. And, from the very beginning, he didn't get on with them. The father calculated that, from Holland -- where he had firmly refused to read an anti-Soviet script, drawn up by his "guardians", on some sort of "voice" -- a reputation for obstinacy pursued him, first to Italy and then to the United States...

"Father wrote," says Maria Yuryevna, "that the vaunted freedom and personal inviolability in America, this is a myth, in which only naive people can believe. Once he learned by accident that a file was being kept on him, that they were following him."

During this time, the father wrote letters infrequently, but Maria and Boris knew that not much time remained before they had a reunion with him. Before a reunion not in New York, but in Moscow, because the former photographic artist had decided to travel to his motherland as a tourist and not to return again to the United States. But, to do this, he first had to earn money for his ticket home.

He didn't succeed in doing this. They killed him. No details or reasons for his death were passed to the Konstantinovs via the American Embassy in Moscow. There was a person, and now there is not. Not even a grave remained.

I leaf through my notebook. There are also other telephone numbers in it, which I could also call. But is this necessary?

13032
CSO: 1800/550

CORRUPTION IN BELGOROD OBLAST PARTY APPARATUS EXAMINED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent T. Bondarenko: "Disintegration: About an Atmosphere Engendering Betrayal of Public Duty"]

[Text] My meeting with Nikolay Alekseyevich Surkov, the former chairman of the Belgorod Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, took place literally a few days before his arrest.

At the time, neither he nor I suspected that new troubles would be knocking at his door. Two months before this they had excluded Surkov from the party and then had removed him from his position -- we talked about this.

He confessed to professional blindness. He placed the blame on his own lack of discrimination -- there had turned out to be too many unworthy people within his closest circle of associates. He accused himself: Sadly, in days of all-encompassing banquet-hospitality, he had not shunned all kinds of convivial dinner parties. A few things he denied and he expressed bewilderment. He was happy -- he now had work as an agronomist, it was spring, and very soon the land began to breathe.

And suddenly there was new news. Perhaps, precisely because I was the last one of my colleagues to meet with him before his arrest, I also feel a sort of double duty -- to try to sort out how this all this could have happened. No, I'm not talking about criminal acts. It is up to the investigators to study and the court to decide whether Surkov was involved in these or not. Something else disturbs me now -- what created the conditions for such a situation?

It was not without purpose that I have mentioned my journalistic colleagues. Many good things had been written about Nikolay Alekseyevich, and our newspaper was no exception. They even told about him in several books and I cannot bring myself to say that this was untrue. This is why, for example, our celebrated teacher-innovator M. Shchetinin came to our editorial offices. He simply could not believe what they were saying from Belgorod. It was precisely there that, long before the reform and despite the many obstacles and barriers, Mikhail Petrovich had set about establishing a new school, and his first and most faithful supporter had been no other than Surkov -- at

first as a collective farm chairman and later as the rayon party committee secretary. An incident was etched on Shchetinin' memory, when somebody, at the request of his wife, had thrown a heap of straw into his yard. Mikhail Petrovich clearly remembers how Surkov scolded his wife, how furiously he pitched the hay over the fence into the street: "And what would happen if I start to steal now..."

Is it possible to accept with your heart and mind that a person suddenly has completely changed? Doubts, doubts... But they do not hold an answer to the question of when (more precisely, how) this bright, wise and irreproachable chairman of a collective farm was transformed into an oblast soviet executive committee chairman lacking in principle, balancing on the edges of the law, and indiscriminate in the choice of his friends.

...On 15 August 1985 at 0700, the first visitor of the day appeared at the oblast soviet executive committee's administration of internal affairs -- G. Drygin. He had earlier used to come here in his personal car, simply dropping into any office, but now he was gloomy and terse. He took a sheet of paper from the man on watch and, in a neat, precise hand, wrote: "I ask that you take me into custody because, while serving as the chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee and in collusion with others, I participated in various kinds of malpractice."

The visitor was interviewed by the deputy chairman of the administration of internal affairs, V. Yushinov... And, after a period of time, they took Drygin directly from his office to a psychiatric hospital.

(I managed to read two documents signed by the chief doctor of the oblast psycho-neurological clinic. In the first, M. Brukhis tells of a phone call from the deputy chief of the internal affairs administration, literally dictating a diagnosis to her, which she trusted, she said. In the second, this time along with two other specialists, Mariya Yakovlevna asserts: Drygin is not mentally ill.

So what was it that took place behind the closed door to the office of the deputy chief of the administration of internal affairs on that August morning? Not only was Drygin "taken out of the game", but the statement of guilt which he made when he turned himself in remained on Yushinov's desk for almost 40 days, recorded nowhere and shown to nobody. This at the same time when, within the oblast, an investigation was being made of a wide-reaching case involving a person closely tied to Drygin and when, the day before, they had questioned the former chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee and he, as the investigators expressed it, would not admit to anything besides his last name! And, here, Drygin had turned himself in -- and was removed from the scene!

But Yushinov did not act alone. An experienced worker, he reported during the very first minutes to the chief of the administration, V. Shevchenko, about the surprise visit. The latter, at one point, had studied in school together with Drygin and had then worked as a subordinate to him and, at that time, they had established, as they say, informal relations. Now, however, he didn't want even to glance at his old acquaintance and hurried to take some

kind of action. By and by, it is true, he considered it necessary to share the news with the first secretary of the oblast party committee and the chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee. In response he heard: "Look into it, only look carefully. Don't rush." This advice was taken literally.

From whom, specifically, did it come? Shevchenko doesn't want to recall this today. But one thing is known: In the second half of the day, he reported personally to Surkov that Drygin had been placed in a psychiatric clinic. This was the third person from the rayon's leadership in the period when Drygin and Shevchenko were working there. And again there was something strange -- it also did not enter his head even to visit a person, allegedly his close friend, who had ended up in the hospital under such unusual circumstances.

...In the days when I was in Belgorod, the primary party organization of the administration of internal affairs carefully studied the circumstances of this surprising extraordinary occurrence. On one Saturday we went through the entire party process for examining the personal cases of party members Shevchenko and Yushinov. It lasted about 11 hours! Starting in the morning, there were open meetings of the party members working in criminal investigation, then of those in the Department for Combatting Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation (OBKhSS). Then the party committee met for a long time. It was the firm conclusion of all participants (and they are specialists) that the throwing up of a blockade around Drygin by two directors of the administration of internal affairs and the concealment from the investigative department of the fact that he had turned himself in were in no way the result of a concern for his health or of an attack of forgetfulness, as Shevchenko tried to explain. Yushinov's version stimulated greater confidence:

"The very fact that the chief of the administration assigned the case of Drygin to me does not make sense... For a long time, I've had no connection with the OBKhSS... The delay has no connection with my wanting to conceal something, but with the phone call which Shevchenko received from somebody from the oblast's leadership. He said to me: Don't call in an investigator, don't make any kind of investigation, don't take any action until I received special instructions from him."

Can these mysterious instructions perhaps be deciphered? In the statements of administration of internal affairs party members, the name of Nikolay Alekseyevich Surkov did not once come up as being a direct culprit in anything that had occurred. How rightful is this? I will not take it upon myself to judge. Only, one thing does tie in, the chain of the biographic coincidences and friendly connections of Surkov and Drygin and, in turn, of Drygin with Genrikh Yayloyan. The latter is now under investigation, charged with large-scale theft of state funds and with speculation. And if one keeps in mind that there are solid links leading from the case of Yayloyan to Drygin, then it is not necessary to guess, surely, for whom further admissions were undesirable.

But who is this Yayloyan? In Belgorodskiy Rayon, neighboring on the oblast center (the rayon party committee is located directly in Belgorod), somewhere

starting at the beginning of the 1980's, he used to show up, as an indispensable, good spirit, when a need arose to arrange a small but convivial reception for the leadership or for visiting guests or a dinner party for "their own people". He frequently took it upon himself to pay the bills. He used to bring everything needed for "good time" at the Tavrovo, Ugrim and other oblast rest centers. Liquor, hors d'oeuvres. And that's not all. In an address book which was confiscated from him at the time of his arrest, they found a whole list of women's names. He explained that these were girls for parties. He used to supervise the "girls" himself. "A convenient kind of person!" They valued him.

And how could he not be valued? By that same Drygin, at least, who is now penitently making confessions: "Guests came to the rayon without end -- take care of them, amuse them. And I have Yayloyan. I can give him a ring and know that everything will be handled in the best way. The leadership and their friends are satisfied." Many oblast leaders -- the chief of the oblast administration for agriculture, V. Kondratyev; the chief of the oblast Agropromkhiymiya association, A. Nikitenko; the former rector of the agricultural institute, N. Nikulin; former oblast soviet executive committee department chief V. Konovalov; the now arrested director of the inter-rayon multi-department shopping center of the Belgorod Oblast union of consumer cooperatives, L. Savenko, and others -- basically top people -- were tempted by Yayloyan's "wares". And at the center of the party there was Nikolay Alekseyevich Surkov, a merry, open person with an inevitable accordion in his hand...

...Yayloyan, of course, interests us not for himself. He matured like fruit in that uncontrolled and unscrupulous climate which reigned at the top levels of the oblast. The obligatory requirement for banquets during meetings and tours of delegations and the leadership, like a powerful vibration, led to a disintegration of manners and morals. They were drawn to the cup under what were obvious pretexts, even without guests.

It is precisely therefore that a head-turning career, such Yayloyan's, is possible. Starting in the beginning of the 1980's, during something like 4 years, he "grew" from being the chief of an unofficial construction work brigade to become the general director of an oblast production association for the manufacture of construction materials! Also, however, he did not give up the brigade and continued to be its de facto chief. The loss to the state from its "activities" alone came to about 250,000 rubles.

Of course, all this was clarified later. Having made a precipitous jump ahead, Genrikh Arutyunovich dragged his little brother, Lev Arutyunovich Yayloyan, along with him. And with this, a wonderful transformation took place -- from being a seasonal worker, he immediately became the chief of the Belgorodskiy Rayon administration for everyday services. With super-speed, in the crudest violation of the Party Statutes, both were accepted into the party.

Only now, when Genrikh Yayloyan has been arrested, has the truth begun to come out. First of all, under the guise of the obliging general director, there lay concealed a twice-convicted criminal.

Again a familiar situation -- it is as if there were no direct participation by Surkov here. But let's not be too credulous. The "movers" of the two brothers were Surkov's closest comrades-in-arms, and at times he was hooked up with them himself.

Both Nikolay Alekseyevich as well as Shevchenko, Yushinov, and many other oblast managers are products of that same personnel atmosphere referred to at the January Central Committee Plenum, where it was said that "we frequently appoint managers whom it is convenient to deal with." And the period of convenient managers has created its own rules -- of unquestioning subordination and of a double moral standard. There is an explanation for this: stagnation in the national economic mechanism, on one hand, and a mania for show on the other, necessarily give rise to a special style of official tractability. Thus, there is an agreed-upon process of dissembling, which extends from not wanting to know where the funds for lavish meals are coming from to not wanting to see cattle and plowed fields which have not been included in reporting.

It was possible, then, for precisely this obsolete style -- of imperceptible half-nods and half-hints which nevertheless entail extremely serious consequences -- to become established in oblast management circles. An unpunishable motivation for criminal acts -- this would be the accurate way to put it. A kind of code language where the most important thing is the underlying text. A language in which there are no questions but only answers and temporizing behavior. It is as if nobody demands anything, tries to get anything. But, at the same time, take a look at the precision with which it is carried out! Within the bureaucratic machinery, any request is buried, and that's it!

The director of the oblast administration of personal services came to Surkov with a complaint: Drygin was forcefully pressing a certain Yayloyan on the leaders of the rayon administration of personal services. Nikolay Alekseyevich limpidly counseled him, without addressing the substance of the matter, that it is necessary to pay attention to suggestions from the rayons. And that was all. The fate of the rayon administration of personal services had been decided... Or recall how the chief of the administration of internal affairs reacted to the request "not to rush, to examine" Drygin's having turned himself in. Nothing, as it were, was said directly, and a serious person, an officer with two law degrees, proceeded without wavering to delay an important investigation for half a year.

This, indeed, is unfortunately how it was. They spoke the "open-code language" fluently here. And a great deal depends on who it is that intimates something and contentedly closes his eyes when things are done the way he wished, the way he had hinted. All this willingly or unwillingly gives rise --and this is certain -- to criminal attitudes toward what would seem to be such an inoffensive area as the official and professional one.

An attempt is made to discover various mental devices. What for? In order to remind the leaders at the proper time about themselves, about whom to greet with a look in the eye and whom to barely nod to, about when to hold one's

tongue in order to prevent the escape of an "unnecessary" question. All this requires precision of the highest order. Do they learn to fawn? Of course not! To get around the statutes and laws? Heaven forbid! But in essence, it is both the one and the other, and much more.

The following, for instance, is an instance which was given a great deal of attention in the case of Surkov. A couple by the name of Troshkin came to him to seek sympathy -- the militia was harassing them. A niece from the Far East had given money to her aunt for safekeeping and now suddenly was demanding it back via the militia. We don't know what it was in this unclear story that touched Surkov, but instead of sending the citizens to the rayon department of the militia, to which they had been invited by a summons, he phoned Yushinov at the oblast soviet executive committee. He asked him TO CONSULT. Again, the code language! The major of the rayon department, who had sent the summons, received instructions not to stir the matter up.

But soon an embarrassing thing happened: They discovered that Troshkina is an experienced swindler, who had cheated about three dozen people out of more than 100,000 rubles, alleging she could help them to get into a housing construction cooperative (ZhSK). During the interval following the intercession of the chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee and before her arrest, she even managed to dupe another 7 people out of a little more than 40,000 rubles!

Demand, as is known, generates supply. And, look, here and there, lower management levels are mastering the "underlying language" style. It looks extremely simple. Surkov turns to the appropriate construction organization with an application for the construction of a garage. In response, the chief promptly builds him his best model, reducing the price of building materials on his own initiative. Here you are, Nikolay Alekseyevich, cheap but good! You didn't ask, he says, but we're pretty quick on our own.

Surkov's guilt is everywhere and nowhere. A surprising thing, isn't it? That everybody began to do him ill, to misinterpret him, to misuse his trust. Even his friends: almost the entire "crowd" is out of business now. Most of them have been excluded from the party and removed from their positions, not only for partying, but for misusing their official positions and for behavior unbecoming a party member. Where here is his guilt? It's here, and it's substantial. Is the painful fact that 28 people associated with the former chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee have been sentenced or under investigation not striking?

All right, when everything is done by halves, then certainly vigilance is also by halves. It is not an accident that suspicious elements began to be drawn more closely to him. The crux of the matter is, we think, that his accessibility, his self-confidence, and his initiative were well-known. But through it, his initiative, a sharp eye should have, or at least could have, perceived his official infantilism. I am in no way referring to his professionalism, knowledgeability, and so on. But rather, to a lack of understanding of the evident possibilities of his position and an inability to correct the situation with regard to his relationships with people. I am, of course, not speaking about vulgar self-conceit, but about the ability to make

use of the levers of state power solely for the good of the state, and about not allowing people with dirty hands to get close to oneself. And this was how it nearly always was with Surkov.

Here's an example, and a more graphic one is not needed. Only now, thanks to many months of effort by the operational group of the Administration for Combatting Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the RSFSR Procuracy, does there seem finally to be a beginning of a decline in the automobile fever that has carried away many officials from their desks and offices.

Many criminal cases have been brought against workers in party-appointed (nomenklaturniy) positions. Arrests have been made. The Peoples Court has handed out a number of sentences. Two cases of suicide have been recorded, and one death from a heart attack. Those afflicted by this "fever" have turned out to be the very people who had a direct responsibility for bringing order to the distribution of short-supply personal automobiles, for seeing to it that they are being made available to people whose names are recorded in waiting lists or who have been specially singled out for their outstanding work at the rural level. But during 1983-1987, 82 Volgas were sold here without any order of priority. The greater part of them -- on direct instructions from Surkov. The cars went to other oblasts in the republic, they were acquired by people on behalf of others, and they became an object of bribes and speculation.

He explains that, sometimes, he signed his name in haste, without finding out whose request it was and that, in general, his recommendations were followed so often because, for a long, long time, it had been the custom that the chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee personally distributed Volga automobiles. And this did not enter his head. As it did not occur to him to turn down the "banquets", even though, during his term as first secretary of the rayon party committee, he had already received a party reprimand for diversion of operating funds (in simple terms -- for extorting them from collective and state farms) for these same banquets.

You will say that all this is in the past. All the sources, the drinking bouts for which the money was needed, and the criminal activities for obtaining this money. This would be a good thing. But, how can you explain the fact that, as recently as the date of non-drinker Yayloyan's arrest in 1986, alcoholic beverages to meet all tastes, from "Kamyu" and Napoleon Brandy to moonshine in 3-liter cans, with a total value of a thousand rubles, were discovered in his house. In the house, in the garage, in the car. So to say, Military Readiness State Number 1, for any situation. What this means is that he was counting on something, that "Quiet Genrikh" knew something on his own and, consequently, that, as formerly, he was finding a use for his supplies...

Well, the oblast's public machinery is now being cleaned up from top to bottom, the power of the primary party organization has been switched on, and the oblast party committee is formulating its position in precise terms. "We do not intend to stop short of anybody. Everyone must get what he deserves," said the first secretary of the oblast party committee, A. Ponomaryev, when we

met. "Authority must lie not in an official position, but in party-like uprightness, in a person's moral purity."

And the best thing of all would seem to be to stop on this note.

But, when closing my notebook, my eye spots several phrases extracted from G. Yayloyan's statement to the procuracy:

"I am not trying to justify myself. I am guilty and was a tool in the hands of others. But I maintain that I received no material benefits from performing all these services, including those which are criminally punishable. My only gain was that the people for whom I provided these services facilitated my growth and progress at work. Moreover, I did not even ask them to do this. They themselves did what was necessary. They wanted to have me near them. You understand, these people need such a person and if it had not been Yayloyan, then they would have found an "Iskhanyan".

So, it turns out that he too did not ask anybody for anything. But he knew what he was getting, and for what. The language of half-tones is paid off in full... It is almost impossible to get a grip on it and it is precisely for this reason that, when punishing its specific devotees, we should be certain not forget about it, itself. Inasmuch as it is extremely infectious and, for our public health, extremely dangerous.

13032

CSO: 1800/550

UZBEK FIRST SECRETARY RESPONDS TO LETTERS ON PUBLIC SERVICES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 87 p 4

[Report under the rubric "Inquiry--Answer": "How Are You Doing, Village?"]

[Text] I. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, has informed the editors of the results of a checkup based on a survey of letters, which were not published in the newspaper, from residents of remote villages in a number of the republic's oblasts concerning shortcomings in social and cultural services.

Most of the substantiated requests by people who lodged complaints have been satisfied. Electrification of a new community on the Kolkhoz imeni Sverdlov in Kommunisticheskiy Rayon, Tashkent Oblast, has been completed. A stable water supply will be provided in the first half of this year by the commissioning of artesian wells on the Sovkhoz imeni Voroshilov in Chirakchinskiy Rayon and the Marksizm Kolkhoz in Kamashinskiy Rayon.

Questions of supplying residents with liquified gas have been resolved on the Sovkhoz imeni Voroshilov and the Fergana Kolkhoz. A telephone line has been installed in Division No. 4 of the Sovkhoz imeni K. Marx. Two kindergartens with accommodations for 180 children have been opened, the construction of a hospital and polyclinic has been started, and the bathhouse and cinema have been repaired in the village of Chadak, Papskiy rayon. Plans have been made to build a school, store, medical station and consumer-services center in the village. A shop of a garment factory has been opened in the village of Chadak.

R. Norbutayev, chairman of the Kamashinskiy Rayon Soviet Ispolkom, T. Tulyaganov, director of the Sovkhoz imeni Voroshilov, and R. Buriyev, chairman of the ispolkom of the Yangikhayatskiy Village Soviet in Chirakchinskiy Rayon, have been dismissed from their jobs for omissions in work to improve settlements.

8756

CSO: 1830/528

RAID ON UZBEK SCHOOLS FINDS 'HARMFUL' FOOD, PRICE DISTORTION

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 87 p 1

[Report on KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA raid, under rubric "We Study a Problem":
"'Profitable' Dinner: For Schoolchildren, Unfortunately, It Frequently Ends in
Serious Illnesses"]

[Text] Uzbek SSR--In Uzbekistan today there are 9,352 schools. 4.5 million
children study in these schools. So the target of the raid was not chosen by
chance.

First of all we decided to acquaint ourselves with the situation in Tashkent's
school cafeterias. In the first place, because they are, in any event, in the
capital and, thus, should be model ones. In the second place, it was
precisely in a Tashkent school--more precisely, No. 233, that trouble occurred
last spring: more than 200 children were poisoned by bad products.

There was a clap of thunder. And then school-catering centers were organized
on an emergency basis in every city rayon.

All that is fine. But-- We stopped by, at random, at the first school we came
to.

In response to the question, "Does the school cafeteria food taste good?" a
chorus of voices: "No!," "It used to be much tastier," "There are always
noodles and rice floating in the borshch," "The cucumbers are too salty,"
"Sometimes the milk is sour." Yes! Evidently, the youngsters at Tashkent
School No. 135 do not get very good food. Embarrassed, Madina from fourth-
grade "B" tells about how she started attending extended-day school from the
first day of school, but now she has stopped--her parents forbade it, saying
that the food in the cafeteria was badly prepared. Right after school she
goes home, and she has dinner, of course, at home. Vasilya and Anya are
bolder, and without worrying about what the adults might think they say: the
food is badly cooked and doesn't taste good, and they don't feel like eating
it. But the teachers and aides require that they clean their plates. It's
almost always dirty in the cafeteria.

And we heard a good many such stories from youngsters in the Tashkent schools. It occurred too us: hadn't we grown too accustomed to the slogan, "All the best for children!" to the point that it had already lost its meaning?

In reading the editors' mail about school breakfasts and dinners, we made a discovery for ourselves: young people's cafeterias and lunch counters have a tremendous number of problems--starting with the organization of catering in both city and rural schools, and ending with the poor quality and monotony of the dishes cooked for the children.

On the menu that we were given to study at that same School No. 135, we discovered the following category: "Mild Foods." In tasting the insipid, flavourless dishes, we never could figure out how these "mild foods" differed from everything else there.

At the counter in the cafeteria of Andizhan's School No. 4, the youngsters stood in line. They were being served by the cook Rakhmatullo Karimov. He was working briskly. You couldn't reproach him. He was both serving the food and working as cashier. With one hand he would serve the lagman (a national dish) and with the other take the money. Catching sight of the "commission," he ran out into the room and exhorted the children, in Uzbek: "Tell them that I'm paid 20 kopecks each."

Let's establish the actual cost of the dinner. The lagman costs 18 kopecks, the bread--the head cook Gulyan Abdukayumov claimed that the students took three pieces, approximately 90 grams, each. Let's agree, although we ourselves saw that the children would take one, or rarely, two. Andizhan bread is the sort that you can't eat much of.

Summing up the cost of the lagman and the bread, we figured that there was an overcharge of five kopecks.

While one group of our brigade was sorting out relations with the head cook, a second was checking on the work of the lunch counter. There's no need to record the whole procedure: here, too, there was an overcharge of six kopeck's "per child's head."

We took some lagman for analysis. The cook, not stinting, piled the plate high. Instead of 315 grams, the portion contained 420! But even with this excess, it turned out that the calorie content was 13 percent below the norm.

Calorie content and nutritional value. Do you know how "Uncle Rakhmatullo" brings it up to the norm? By using cottonseed oil. The meat pies [belyashi], lamb-broth soup [shurpa] and the omnipresent lagman were oversaturated with it. On the surface of some sort of broth a ruddy, healthy-looking grease was floating. Appetizing. But don't hurry with the compliments. That's that same cottonseed oil floating on top along with other of the roasted ingredients. But the excess of it makes for neither nutritious nor healthy food. To the contrary. Cottonseed oil contains gossypol. In small quantities the organism even needs it, but in large quantities it's harmful. The poorly overheated oil causes burning and other unpleasant sensations and

gradually results in the development of gastritis. Do you think that the thieves who cook up hundreds of rubles for themselves to buy cars (about which we shall speak below) out of the school kasha don't understand what damage they are doing to the youngsters' health?! Why is the dishwasher in dilapidated condition? Why are the dishes washed with laundry soap? There are dozens of such "whys." After inspecting the cafeterias of Association No. 2 in schools Nos. 3, 4 and 46, and discovering serious violations in every one of them, we could not get a sensible answer to a single one of our questions from the association's director Abdukhamid Kurbanov. And what could he say? That the overcharges to the children were isolated cases? That the poor quality of the food and the unsanitary conditions were also isolated cases? It's said that two isolated cases are already a phenomenon. The cafeterias of Association No. 2 have been inspected repeatedly, and violations have also been discovered before. So it's a matter not of isolated cases, and not even a phenomenon, but a whole system!

In the cafeteria of Rural Vocational-Technical School No. 1 on the day of the checkup there was pea soup from concentrate and chicken goulash for dinner. Milk was served for the third course. Slightly burned, it had a rancid taste and an unpleasant odor. Do you know how many calories that dinner contained? Terribly few. After all, a portion of the soup was 145 grams "light," and the calorie content of the goulash turned out to be 20 percent below the norm, and the students refused the milk entirely.

We looked in at the cafeteria storeroom. There was no receipt for 24 kg of butter. Kh. Yuldashev, the director of the association's storeroom showed up and, without batting an eye, stood right in front of us and filled out an invoice for 15 kg of butter. If there had been a carcass of meat in the cafeteria for which there was no receipt, he would probably have filled out a document for it, as well. Just try to get to the truth when that sort of "mutual assistance" goes on!

The manipulation with the invoices gives us the right to think that this butter had been "saved" by not giving it to the students. The fact that nine kilograms of it were still surplus also argues in favor of that conclusion. Doesn't Nizamov use those "surpluses" to cook the separate dinners for the vocational-technical school's instructors? When we entered the head cook's office, they, having finished eating, were brewing tea with butter. And there wasn't any on the youngsters' tables.

In School No. 3's cafeteria we intended to make a mass control purchase. We asked the youngsters to help out. We explained the objective to them, warning them, in particular: "When you get your change, hold onto it."

At this point a little girl rose and said: "The cook doesn't give any change from 25 kopecks."

It was crystal clear. And in this cafeteria the youngsters were charged 25 kopecks each, right before our eyes, for that same lagman. And what about the teachers? Can it be that they were afraid to cheat them?

Dilya Soliyeva, a math teacher, took a dinner for three. She was shortchanged 36 kopecks.

Pulat Atakhanov, the head cook, assumed an insulted look.

Nonetheless, it was evident that he was not even afraid of us. He even muttered in passing: "You'll be dealt with yet."

By whom, one wonders.

No, one somehow can't believe that thieves like Atakhanov operate so brazenly at their own risk. Someone must be encouraging and supporting them. Let's not think that this is done without selfish interest.

To return to the assertion, "they economize on everything," let us also cite the following fact: In the cafeteria at School No. 4 there were also rolls for sale. They were sold for 10 kopecks each and were overpriced by two kopecks. But the fact that they were short-weighted meant another one and a half or two kopecks in overpricing. Here a kopeck, there a kopeck. This is really a case in which the kopecks add up--to a car for the head cook. After all, almost every one of 2,000 students uses the services of the cafeteria and lunch counter in School No. 4. Plus 150 teachers. So it's not hard to figure out what the daily "skim" is there.

And now it's time to talk about cars.

"Do you have a car?" we asked Gulyam Abdukayumov.

"What do you mean?! Where would I get one?" he smiled guiltily.

One could guess what was unspoken: "How could I have a car, if I earn 85 rubles?" But it turned out that the head cook did have a car. And if it was acquired with earned income, why would he be nervous about it?

The question about a car was also asked to Kuvadzhan Nizamov. And, strikingly, he played out the same farce:

"A car?! Where would I get one?! I've got to feed my children out of my earnings."

But when he was caught in his lie, he admitted: "Yes, I have one. A Zhiguli."

In short, everything is clear. But one doesn't want to end it there, because the question begs to be asked: Why do so many men work in the stores and cafeterias, and in trade, in general, in Andizhan--as they do, by the way, in all the cities and villages of Uzbekistan? They ought to be in the plants and construction sites, where the wages are two or three times as high.

Viktor Vakhmyanin, second secretary of the Andizhan City Komsomol Committee, who is bothered by this problem, directed an inquiry to the executives of the public catering association and received a rather entertaining official reply: "Kitchen work is heavy. It's necessary to lift huge pots. Women aren't strong enough to do it." And the women, let us note, work in those same

school cafeterias as cleaning women, dishwashers, kitchen helpers and even auxiliary workers.

And now, "homework" for all interested ministries and departments. It's very simple and specific: as soon as possible, make a detailed study of the numerous problems of school lunch counters and cafeterias. After all, even a brief raid showed that our children's food in the school cafeterias at present is far from mild. Rather, it is harsh--on both the taste and the health, both physical and moral.

Participants in the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA raid included: R. Azimov, instructor with the Tashkent Oblast Komsomol Committee; A. Gorokhov, secretary of the Komsomol committee at the Andizhan Elektroapparat Plant; A. Rassanova, dispatcher at the Andizhan City Hospital; A. Kalantarov, member of the Andizhan City Staff of the KOMSOMOLSKIY PROZHEKTOR; U. Shamsutdinov, physician's assistant at the Andizhan City Sanitary and Epidemiological Station; E. Ershov, senior engineer at the Andizhan State Laboratory for the Monitoring of Standards and Measuring Equipment; M. Kirpichenko, correspondent for the newspaper UCHITEL UZBEKISTAN; V. Samoylov, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA volunteer correspondent; and staff correspondent M. Alimov.

8756

CSO: 1830/528

'LIBERAL' ATTITUDE TO LATVIAN 14 JUN DEMONSTRATIONS EXPLAINED

Riga CINA in Latvian 18 Jun 87 p 4

[Article by M. Vulfsons, commentator: "More Democracy Means More Socialism: Shouldn't the Response Have Been Firmer?"]

[Text] Our readers, among them leading intellectuals, in recent days have expressed fears to the editors, that the events at the Freedom Monument may have harmed our society's openness process--that fruitful work of Latvia's intelligentsia which is trying to develop our national self-assurance, the purity of our language and our international cultural relations--and are asking whether the liberal attitude of the authorities is not encouraging some elements to repeat such attempts. Therefore, we publish our commentator's thoughts on the subject.

In order to answer, and direct my answer to the question which is being asked in certain circles--"Shouldn't the response to the June 14 action participants and organizers have been firmer and more energetic?"--I want to look at it from various aspects: in a broad sense, historically, emotionally, and locally, taking into account the concrete situation in which this action took place, and the factors that stimulated it and its possible repercussions.

In the first place, no social event in our republic can be evaluated by artificially removing it from the historical, radical exchanges of opinion which take place in our homeland and in our economic and social lives, and sphere of thought. In the atmosphere of openness, the conviction that that which does not go against the law, is permissible, is beginning to take hold in politics as well as everyday life. This process is linked to many years of dogmatic thinking and to a re-evaluation of standards regarding events of the past, as well as our present ethical and social values.

Complex change, whose responsibility it is to cleanse socialism of uncharacteristic and yet existing accretions, is unimaginable without complete democratization. Democracy is everywhere praised, but it is understood and interpreted in different ways. All in all, the majority of the residents of our homeland have not experienced the first stage of the maintenance and development of Soviet power (until 1928) which was ruled by Lenin's norms, openness, discussion, the development of the democratic spirit; many also know little about our party's 20th Congress, its so-called course of de-Stalinization, whose positive direction we not only to continue today, but

adapt to present-day needs, and to the magnificent responsibilities of the present-day. [This course brings with it] irreversible consequences, scientifically developed dynamism and scope.

Radical reforms in our land's economic, social and spiritual life, and the new way of thinking, which has become the theoretical and practical foundation of our foreign policy, has earned the concentrated attention of all peoples, and among the absolute majority, their highest recognition. It has ensured for the Soviet Union and its leadership, a unique authority throughout the world. Social thought in the East and West is increasingly endorsing M. Gorbachev's course of action. As any international observer would have to admit, this endorsement has forced many Western governments (although reluctantly, and yet nevertheless!) to change their positions on such fateful questions for humankind as nuclear disarmament.

We must think about all this when we objectively analyze and evaluate the complex process of democratizing society. [We must also keep this in mind] when we safeguard this process from the naive hopes of certain circles in the West, that the Soviet Union will copy the capitalist world's "freedom," or against their attempts to discredit the democratization process in our land as "specially refined communist propaganda." However, the democratization process must also be protected against those who cannot overcome their attachment to traditional past stereotypes--"that is not permitted," "that cannot be talked about," "that cannot be written about," "that cannot be touched." This is especially true when they encounter new, diversified and unfamiliar forms of democratization manifesting themselves. We bitterly regret the mistakes that were allowed in the past, especially the fact that we have blindly praised arbitrariness, denied shortage, said one thing, but done another, and in this way complicated an entire generation's fate. I have often wondered what has been the deepest cause of lies and half-truths. Apparently--fear. And I believe--if we wish to drive out all distortions and untruths and socialist ethics, if we desire Leninism, then we must put a stop to the fear, we must stop thinking that everything that is unfamiliar represents a real threat to the most supreme power in the world--Soviet power! We must stop our unusual--and I admit, our unpleasant--habit of obligatorily viewing certain things as those which require a response of administrative force.

In my view, the actions of the citizen group on the 14th of June could be included among that which is considered unfamiliar and perhaps even unacceptable. The facts are such: following the invitation of the Soviet Union-hating and CIA-controlled U.S. radio stations, these citizens placed flowers at the Freedom Monument. As the leaders of this action explained it to me, this took place to honor the memory of their family members, who on the eve of the Great Patriotic War--8 days prior to the treacherous invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler's Wehrmacht--were relocated to the interior of the Soviet Union. As is known, this step was planned as a military security measure against Nazi agents (pro-fascist former officers of Ulmanis' army, national guard members, previous political administration leaders and member of Perkonskrusts") who operated illegally in our republic and were preparing

to operate as a "5th column" as supervisors of the Nazi Invasion and traitors to their own homeland. Nevertheless--and this is repeatedly admitted in the works of Soviet Latvian historians--under the circumstances influenced by the Stalin cult, some innocent people also suffered in this relocation action; this includes many pro-Soviet peoples of various nationalities--Russians, Jews, Poles and others (not only Latvians!), and their family members. Among this group in the mid-1950's, a noticeable number returned to their previous places of residence as rightful Soviet citizens.

There is no doubt that honoring such innocent victims--sacrificed as a result of violations of socialist law, violations openly condemned by our party--is not an action which would qualify as an anti-Soviet act. This despite the fact that foreign instigators and manipulators, as well as a few irresponsible nationalistic elements in our republic, who have taken it upon themselves to describe themselves as the group "Helsinki 86," would like to characterize what took place as a political, anti-Soviet action. Even more, they would have been blissful, if the organs of Soviet power would have used repressive measures against the flower laying ceremony and would have prevented them from approaching the Freedom Monument or taken them into custody. It is exactly this kind of "sacrificial" result that was the main goal and dream of the fascist, emigre leaders overseas. Then they would have proclaimed the fraud of Soviet democratization and could have characterized Soviet power as "the oppressor of Latvian nationalist aspirations." However, this joy anticipated by the nationalist emigre leaders has been denied to them by Soviet Latvia's authorities and our republic's society.

Speaking with due respect, I don't think that the Freedom Monument is the proper place to honor the memories of those victims who suffered as a result of the unforgivable repressions of the Stalin cult era. The Freedom Monument has a much deeper meaning. It symbolizes the struggle of the Latvian people, and foremost, of the working people, against foreign invaders. The struggle for national and social freedom. That freedom which did not exist for the working people in bourgeois--and especially in Ulmanis' dictatorial (1934-1940)--Latvia. Nevertheless, the indelicate (speaking conservatively) choice of this citizen group, courted by foreign radio voices to place flowers at the Freedom Monument, was also not a criminal act. In no sense was it an action against Soviet power and socialist rule.

I wrote and...was overcome by doubts. No, it was not related to the totally normal and somber flower laying ceremony. The doubts concerned the Soviet authorities' accepted characterization of the event, its nature and proceedings, in which the organizers used the event to make a show of demands and nationalist speeches. It demonstrated the organizers' allegiance to overseas prompters, who themselves did not have innocent motives, and who masked these motives by deftly exploiting the decent, civilized emotions of the vast majority who placed the flowers. I am convinced that only with the broadening of democratization will it be possible to realize our party's historical aspirations to carry out the assignment of radical restructuring which is now the order of the day. Only democratization can liberate socialism's most heroic, developing strength--free work, free thinking in a

free land. No doubt, not all find it easy to understand this truth for there are still people who think that democratization is more a slogan and not the basis of our furthest development and society's furthest direction. But let us remember M. Gorbachev's words, that more democracy means more socialism. And let it follow also that less democracy means less socialism. In order to not fall by the wayside of the stream of life, this must clearly be taken into account.

Understandably, that does not mean that democracy and the democratization process is identical with arbitrary and anarchistic elements, with the understanding that one can do anything one wants. Democracy is always divisive and it also does not supersede the law. In every case, that which is directed against socialism, against progress, against the existing order and therefore against the interests of the people and the state, will be categorized as a violation of the law with all its eventual consequences. From this point of view, the so-called Latvian Helsinki group's anti-Soviet "program" and its handful of member's activities, are not only unconnected with the Helsinki spirit, but with their anti-socialism, and their allegiance to the voices of foreign lands, they speak out against the vital interests of the residents of the republic, humanism, day-to-day concerns and the truly important responsibilities.

The democratization process is complex. We will continue to take new steps, look for new paths. It is possible that something will turn out to be unusable--let us discard it! It is possible that something which today seems strange will tomorrow be normal and acceptable. These words can possibly be related to many of the events and results of openness which appear in our press, theaters, films, television. Yesterday much seemed unimaginable; today, familiar! Understandably, of use only will be that which serves socialism, serves the people, serves the development of international feelings.

The last point was not accidental. We must especially think about that in our republic, in which live representatives of many nationalities, among whom mutual respect and understanding is possible in a normal, developing atmosphere. From this point of view, the understanding of Latvia's complex history is necessary among all of our republic's residents. The deeper it is, the higher will be the inter-national relations and cultural and mutual trust.

Continuing, I would like to give a singularly meaningful answer to the given question: in my opinion, our republic's authoritative agencies' balanced and correct position, displaying high discipline, and firm adherence to socialist law, has demonstrated the strength of socialism, its trust in the people and in justice; any other response would have given points to those who at all costs wish to discredit Soviet democracy. They did not gain these points.

/6662

CSO: 1808/34

NURSERIES IN LIYEPAYA REACH 3-YEAR WAITING LIST

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 28 Apr 87 p 4

[LATINFORM report: "In the Latvian CP CC Party Control Commission"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in text]

[Text] All lines are unpleasant and unprofitable. Waiting in line for a place in a children's preschool institution is three times as bad--for the individual; for the collective in which he might be working; and for the republic, where every worker is worth his weight in gold. And if one takes into consideration the moral losses as well?...

In Liyepaya the number of families waiting for a kindergarten vacancy has reached 3,500. The amount of time the youngsters "standing" in line--they will not be entering the little red schoolhouse today, or tomorrow--amounts to three years, on the average. Those simply "occupying a place" in the line will not have to wait any less. Such was the depressing picture which A.D. Drozda, Liyepaya gorsovet ispolkom chairman painted at the regular session of the Party Control Commission at the Latvian CP Central Committee. The session examined the question, "On the Insufficient Work of Party, Soviet and Economic Organs in the City of Liyepaya and Yekabpilskiy Rayon on Construction of Children's Preschool Institutions and Putting Them into Operation."

The members of the commission found the references to objective factors to be inconsequential. After all, one who truly strives to do something will seek the means; those who do not look for excuses: "Subcontractor organizations," they say, "are completely booked up, or tied up with matters at the design offices, who are in no hurry to complete the design-cost documentation for a kindergarten of their own Construction Ministry. Nor have they completed documentation on a kindergarten intended for the children of metal workers, and its opening has been delayed until 1989.

"This is in direct conflict with the decree of the Latvian CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers on providing children's preschool institutions to the people of the Latvian SSR," stressed Commission Chairman S.S. Palora at the session. "Instead of providing space for 420 children in 1988 as stipulated by the decree, out of 1,140 planned for the five-year plan, you have no intention of providing any at all for the coming year!"

"And if you look into it, the following year, 1989, looks murky indeed," adds V.I. Yufryakov, chief of the commission's temporary control group, reporting on the situation in the localities.

"I consider it altogether improper to put off the actual turnover of the projects to the end of the five-year plan, thereby putting in jeopardy the fulfillment of an important task. And you see, that is just what has happened in Yekabpilsskiy Rayon, where 45 percent of the plan for putting projects on-line is to be fulfilled in 1990. The only kindergarten to be put into operation last year, at Mezhare Sovkhoz, was actually not properly completed.

"The story is as follows: In accordance with ill-starred tradition the kindergarten was turned over on 30 December, and--it goes without saying--with a number of unfinished tasks. The republic People's Control Commission was forced to intervene. Its decision was to remove the project from the accounting file. The specific unfinished tasks were, of course, taken care of and the kindergarten began accepting children during the first quarter of this year, but we are still a long way from completely rooting out poor workmanship in putting up preschool institutions in the rayon. After visiting Yekabpils, the members of the temporary group called attention to the fact that the rayispolkom services (E.R. Gross, former chairman) which were to have been monitoring quality did not provide the required transportation for this purpose, and are loaded down with work for which they are not suited. Carelessness and violations of technological discipline have not yet been eliminated at the building sites themselves. Such kinds of negative phenomena are also found in Liyepaya."

"And how do you explain the fact that, in spite of the present deficit, a number of kindergartens are not being utilized effectively? For example, at Akniste Sovkhoz, a kindergarten with space for 280 children introduced last year has only 141 pupils?" asked S.S. Palora of V.Ya. Liyetaviyetis, current Yekabpilsskiy Rayispolkom chairman.

"Mismanagement," he admitted in a self-critical manner, and explained: "Major projects are profitable to contractor organizations, and at times they prefer to carry out large projects even in places where one could get along very well with less."

"And where is the ispolkom to be found? After all, it is the boss on its own territory."

All the ispolkom chairman could do was throw up his hands.

Those taking part in the meeting noted that the ispolkom has to establish strict control, not only over planning for construction of kindergartens, but also over the entire production cycle--from planning of the projects to turning them over for operation. There are no insignificant parts to this business--all are important: taking timely action to provide furniture to the kindergartens; organizing the training of cadres; involving the very broadest segments of the public in the construction; and making every stage of the work the personal responsibility of the communists. But I think the

most important thing is that every supervisor--from the ispolkom chairman to the brigade leader--must steadfastly FIGHT for the plan! The time is past when one could put one's faith in chance: if it works, that's good; if it doesn't work, we'll find the guilty parties and punish them. There is no time for shake-ups...

And, as the speakers stressed, now it is all the more unacceptable to cleave to the residual principle, as it was phrased at the 27th Party Congress: that projects for industrial purposes get top priority, and housing, kindergartens and similar socio-cultural-domestic projects are put off until later, as in the old days. It is not by chance that the above-mentioned decree requires that construction of preschool institutions is to be considered one of the most important tasks. The Latvian CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers has laid personal responsibility for its fulfillment on the chief administrators of the ministries, departments and economic organizations, as well as city and rayon party and soviet organs. It was precisely this key point that was stressed at the commission session in the objective discussions held with not only the ispolkom chairmen, but also with the Secretaries of the Liypaya gorkom and the Yekabpilsskiy party raykom, V.F. Lysov and K.K. Kruminsh. The commission took note of the assurances of the administrators that the kindergarten construction program would receive genuinely high priority and that it would unfailingly be completed on time. In Liypaya, where they now intend to even overfulfill the task, they plan to rely on wider use of their own building organization [khoz-sposob] and on enlisting the use of shared resources; in Yekabpilsskiy Rayon they intend to make more effective use of the recently-established material-technical base of the PMK [Mobile Mechanized Column].

After noting that the work being carried out in Liypaya and in Yekabpilsskiy Rayon on building kindergartens and putting them into operation is unsatisfactory, the commission ordered the ispolkom chairmen and secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms to eliminate as soon as possible the shortcomings noted, and to increase their demands on those who underestimate the political significance of solving this important social task. Purposeful instructions were given to party commissions at the gorkom and raykom to place kindergarten construction under special control.

Also examined at the session was the question of the results of carrying out the previously adopted resolution on shortcomings in the work of the administrations and party committees of the REZ [Riga Order of Lenin Electrical Machinery Plant] and Sarkanays Kvadrats Production Associations, on rhythmic dispatch of finished products, and on unloading railroad cars. It was determined that the situation at these enterprises has improved noticeably, and control of the given question was removed.

9006

CSO: 180/652

END